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PETER BUCHAN

And Other Papers on

Scottish and English Ballads and Songs.

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And Other Papers on

Scottish and English Ballads and Songs.

BY

WILLIAM WALKER.

NORWOOD EDITIONS / 1976

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NORWOOD EDITIONS BOX 38 NORWOOD, PA. 19074

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Scottish and English Ballads and Songs.

BY

WILLIAM WALKER.

"'Tis old and plain;
The spinners and the knitters in the sun
And the free maids that weave their thread with bones
Do use to chant it; it is silly sooth,
And dallies with the innocence of love,
Like the old age.

'Twelfth Night.

ABERDEEN:
Printed by WILLIAM SMITH & SONS
For D. WYLLIE & SON.
1915

Printed by William Smith & Sons
At The Bon-Accord Press
Aberdeen

To the Memory of my Friend

GAVIN GREIG, M.A.,

SCHOOLMASTER, WHITEHILL, NEW DEER,
AN ARDENT WORKER IN THE FIELD OF THE
FOLK-SONG AND MUSIC OF THE NORTH-EAST OF SCOTLAND,
I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME,
IN THE PROGRESS OF WHICH HIS INTEREST
AND HELP WERE UNABATED
WHILE HIS TOO SHORT LIFE LASTED.

WILL. WALKER.

PREFACE

VERY many years ago, having observed the growing contempt with which some English and Anglo-Scottish critics spoke about our northern traditional ballads and their collectors, I began to make notes thereon, with no other purpose in view than the satisfying of my own mind, as to whether the doubts and innuendos circulated anent "thefts," "fabrications," and "sophistications" were, or were not, sufficiently based for an honest and fair mind to entertain. Peter Buchan as a matter of course (though not alone in the indictment), came in for the lion's share of obloquy. More markedly so was this the case after his death, when the deliverances of one or two critics were taken up, and have become parrot cries ever since, in almost every writer who presumes to speak of Buchan and his work, without knowing much about either. When my friend the late Gavin Greig (in pursuit of the work he had undertaken, along with the Rev. J. B. Duncan, Lynturk, for the New Spalding Club) came to examine the notes, memoranda, letters, and other documents I had gathered together, he urged upon me the duty of putting, at least a selection of these, into such con-

venient form as might make them accessible to other workers in the same field. As some leisure had then come to me, and the subject of balladry was still a pet hobby of mine, I agreed to do so,—and the following papers are the result. A true outline of the career of Peter Buchan, with full details of his various manuscript collections, is now, for the first time, given from documents in my own possession. The other articles make no pretence to be more than *notes* and *comments* disjointedly jotted down many years ago, and now *put into a readable form*, with the hope that they may be useful in setting English claims and Scottish tradition in their true perspective.

I am much indebted to my friends John A. Fairley, Esq., Edinburgh; James Meiklejohn, M.A., Glasgow; and Rev. J. B. Duncan, Lynturk, for suggestions, and help in reading proofs. Mr. Fairley not only contributed specially the Buchan Bibliography, but has in many ways helped me in making the volume worthy of public acceptance. Conscious that the subject of balladry is not at present a popular one, but appeals to a select few, I have restricted the publication to one hundred and eight copies,—being determined that no one subscribing shall have the mortification of seeing copies exposed in lists of cheap books at half the original cost.

WILL. WALKER.

65 ARGYLL PLACE,
ABERDEEN.

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ERRATA

pp. 7 and 8, *note*—for "Nichol's" read "Nichols'."
p. 12, line 4 from bottom—for "Furnival" read "Furnivall."
p. 48, line 9 from bottom—delete "time" (twice printed).
p. 59, line 7 from top—for "Tarwarthy" read "Tarwathy."
p. 62, line 4 from bottom—for "leaves" read "leave."
pp. 106-8, *note and text*—for "Grossart" read "Grosart."
p. 205, line 8 from top—for "Wintoun" read "Wyntoun."
p. 213, line 5 from top—at end of line put a comma.
p. 232, line 11 from top—delete "in" at end of line.
p. 242, line 4 from top—delete "the" (twice printed).

I

ABERDEENSHIRE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCOTTISH BALLAD-LORE.

SOME time ago an interesting duel took place between Andrew Lang and Lieut.-Col. the Hon. Fitzwilliam Elliot, anent Scott's editorial work on some ballads given in the famous "Border Minstrelsy." The discussion was conducted in a fine spirit of candour, earnestness, and a desire for truth. Many very sensible remarks were made by both writers, which sent us back to the early collectors of our traditional ballad lore in the hope of finding what they understood by such terms now current in the higher criticism as the "trustworthiness," "authenticity," and "genuineness" of traditionary ballad and song. We soon found that these terms, when applied to balladry, have not the same significance as when they are applied to official documents. From the very nature of "tradition," historical and topographical correctness in a ballad (which constitutes "trustworthiness" in the sense adopted by Mr. Elliot), is a presumption against its "genuineness"—suggesting its having been "faked up" by some knowing writer. If traditionary ballads have their origin and transmission through the common people, whose

knowledge of events was mostly hearsay—then, what between defective memories, dullness of comprehension, and careless reproduction in transmission, any amount of deflection from whatever accuracy a ballad originally may have had, becomes possible—and yet it may be a genuine traditionary one after all. Professor Child was wont to say that he liked "to have the ballads quite in the air. It is the next best thing to their flying in the face of all history."

The main defect in our early collectors was, their neglect to record exactly *when*, *where*, and *from whom*, the texts they printed had been gathered. Herd gives little or no information as to the sources from whence he obtained the texts he printed in his volumes of 1769-1776. He had, however, the critical instinct to know when anything that fell in his way reflected some phase or facet of the heroic, romantic, or domestic life of a byegone age, and was worthy of preservation because of that. And it is really wonderful how few of his gleanings have since been discovered either in manuscript or broadsheet, prior to his time; though some of them were gathered (by Burns and others) from singers in other parts of the country not long after he had recorded them. Scott was the next great collector, in point of time, after Herd, and was more particular than he had been, for in most instances we know, in a way, the source or sources of the items he printed in his great work, the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, 1802-3." No doubt some of the pieces there given were conglomerates "from the alembic of Abbotsford"—patchwork affairs, where

the final form was reached by a collation of fragments, genuinely traditional in themselves, but which required the editorial touching up and setting in order, to make them interesting and fairly intelligible. This was the recognised editorial function of the time. It has ceased to be so now. Indeed Scott in his later years seems to have outgrown this conception of what an editor might legitimately do, as we find in a letter which he sent to Motherwell in 1825, where he says: —"In fact I think I did wrong myself in endeavouring to make the best possible set of an ancient ballad out of several copies obtained from different quarters, and that, in many respects, if I improved the poetry, I spoiled the simplicity of the old song."*

When one goes into particulars regarding the sources from whence the texts of Scottish Traditional Ballads were first obtained many very curious facts emerge (notably the great quantity of material found north of the Tay — particularly in Aberdeenshire) which, when followed up through the work of subsequent collectors, recalls a statement made some seventy odd years ago by Joseph Robertson, one of Scotland's greatest historical antiquaries. In a playful mood, in one of his early writings, he sought to vindicate the outstanding worth of his native shire (Aberdeenshire) from the ignorance and neglect of the gazetteers, topographers, and antiquaries of that time. Of course, that was before railway communication had made the extremes of our island next-door-

* Memoir of Motherwell, by Dr. M'Conechy, prefixed to Poems, 1881, p. xviii.

neighbours, and before the extension of the political franchise had made northern voters important in southern eyes. He spoke of Aberdeenshire's great and noble families, its ancient castles, its notable battle-fields, its multitudinous prehistoric remains, its traditionary balladry, etc., etc., and challenged any county in Scotland to give it a second place. Now, whether all he said in this challenge was true or wise, we do not care to enter upon, but, as regards Aberdeenshire's contribution to the great body of traditionary ballads which has made Scotland famous the world over, he stood on ground impregnable against all comers. Traditionary Balladry indeed owes more to Aberdeenshire than most people yet wot of. Long before the professional collector had advanced north of the Tay, a very choice collection of our best romantic ballads had been taken down from the singing of Anna Gordon, a daughter of Professor Thomas Gordon of King's College, Aberdeen, and was sent by that gentleman to his friend William Tytler, author of a well-known "Dissertation upon Scottish Music," and a great enthusiast on all matters relating to Scottish Songs and Airs. This was in 1783. Anna Gordon was born 24th August, 1747, and had learned all her ballads by the time she was twelve years of age. An aunt (after whom she had been named), came from Braemar into Aberdeen, on the death of her husband, Mr. Farquharson of Allanquoich, and resided with her brother-in-law, the professor. She became particularly attached to young Anna. It was from this aunt, who was full of the

ballad lore of upper Deeside, and from an old maid-servant in the Disblair (her mother's) family, that the young girl learned all her ballads—ballads which, after she became Mrs. Brown of Falkland, made her name famous wherever such things are cared for. She was married to the Rev. Andrew Brown of Falkland, 13th December, 1788—returned to Old Aberdeen on the death of her husband at Tranent in 1805, and died there 11th July, 1810. She is interred in the burial place of the Gordon family, St. Machar's Churchyard.

When Scott was engaged on the "Border Minstrelsy," Mr. Tytler's son (Lord Woodhouselee), sent him, for use, the two MSS. which his father had received from the Aberdeen Professor, and a number of these northern records appeared in that great work with full acknowledgment of their value and source. Not having exhausted the contents of these MSS. he handed them over to Robert Jamieson, who was then preparing his "Popular Ballads" (published in 1806), so that he might use the "many beautiful legendary poems of which he (Scott) could not avail himself, as they seemed to be the exclusive property of the bards of Angus and Aberdeenshire." Jamieson, who had a fine taste for such things, soon got into personal communication with Mrs. Brown (then residing at Tranent, but temporarily at Moffat for her health), with the result that still more of her memorable store of ancient song was transmitted to him about 1800-1801. A considerable portion, therefore, of Jamieson's excellent volumes, and part of Scott's

"Border Minstrelsy" consists of transcripts of ballads learned in Aberdeenshire from native singers somewhere about 1760.

Mrs. Brown's Ballads are contained in three MSS.:—(1) THE JAMIESON-BROWN MS. (now in Edinburgh University Library; Laing MSS. XIII., 473). It consists of twenty-four Ballads, twenty of which were taken down about 1783 by Professor R. Scott of King's College, Aberdeen, from his aunt's recitation.—It was out of this that the MS. No. 2 was taken.—It also has *an appendix* of three pieces from her recitation, and "Lizie Lindsay" from another singer, taken down by Professor Scott, 1800-1. The MS. was sent to Jamieson 1799-1800.

(2) THE WILLIAM TYTLER-BROWN MS.—containing Willie's Lady,—Jack the little Scot,—Chil' Brenton,—The Gay Goss Hawk,—Young Betrice,—Rose the Red and White Lily,—Brown Robin,—Willie o' Douglasdale,—Kempion,—Lady Elspat,—King Henry,—Lady Maisery,—Clark Colvin,—Brown Adam,—The Cruel Sister,—all with the music, taken down in 1783. Its present whereabouts is not known.

(3) THE ALEXANDER FRASER TYTLER-BROWN MS. (now in Aldourie Castle, Inverness-shire). It was written down and sent to Lord Woodhouselee by Mrs. Brown, 21st April, 1800.—It contains—Thomas Rhymer and Queen of England,—Love Gregory,—Fa'se Foolrage,—Jellon Grame and Lillie Flower,—The Bonny Earl of Livingston,—Bonny Bee Ho'm,—Bonny Footboy,—Cruel Brother,—Lord John and Bird Ellen. A transcript of sixteen of these ballads

was made by a grand-daughter of Lord Woodhouselee, and is in the possession of the family.*

Regarding these ballads Mrs. Brown writes to Lord Woodhouselee in April, 1800 :—"I do not pretend to say that these ballads are correct in any way, as they are written down entirely from recollection, for I never saw one of them in print or manuscript; but I learned them all when a child, by hearing them sung by the lady you mentioned (Mrs. Farquharson), my own mother, and an old maid-servant that had been long in the family. I dare say I may have fragments of others, but I could not so easily recollect them, except the ballads they belonged to were mentioned."†

In another letter, 23rd December, 1800, to the same gentleman, she says — "I have lately, by rummaging in a by-corner of my memory, found some Aberdeenshire ballads which totally escaped me before.—They are of a different class from those I sent you, not near so ancient, but may be about a century ago. I cannot boast much of their poetical merits, but the family incidents upon which they are founded, the local allusions which they contain, may perhaps render them curious and not uninteresting to many people. They are as follows: —1st 'The Baron of Braichly'; 2nd 'The Lass of Philorth'; 3rd 'The Tryal of the Laird of Gycht'; 4th 'The

* Macmath's "Bibliography of Popular Ballads in Manuscript," in Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1891-2, and Nichol's Illustrations of Literary History, Vol. VII., p. 176-180.

† Nichol's Illustrations, Vol. VII., p. 179.

Death of the Countess of Aboyne'; 5th 'The Carrying off of the Heiress of Kinady.' All these I can recollect pretty exactly. I never saw any of them either in print or manuscript, but have kept them entirely from hearing them sung when a child."*

They must be remarkably pure and have no outstanding gift, whom the breath of suspicion does not seek to taint; and it seems that the remarkable powers of Mrs. Brown's memory, and her kindly readiness to impart her stores of ancient lore to those interested in such things, were not exercised without exciting doubts and raising misgivings in some quarters. The following extract from a letter written by Dr. Robert Anderson to Percy, 14th September, 1800, when sending him notes of the contents of the MSS. 2 and 3, gives an indication of this:—"I accompanied Mr. Jamieson to my friend Scott's house in the country, for the sake of bringing the collectors to a good understanding. I then took on me to hint my suspicion of modern manufacture, in which Scott had secretly anticipated me. Mrs. Brown is fond of ballad poetry, writes verses, and reads everything in the marvellous way. Yet her character places her above the suspicion of literary imposture; but it is wonderful how she should happen to be the depository of so many curious and valuable ballads."† Yes, such things are wonderful to the eyes of mediocrity at all times; but Scott's final judgment shows that he

* Child's Popular Ballads, Vol. IV., p. 309, note.

† Nichol's Illustrations, Vol. VII., p. 90.

rapidly got over whatever "secret" suspicions he may have had.*

The full extent, however, of the contributions which Aberdeenshire has made over the whole field of traditionary Scottish Balladry becomes more evident when we look into the details given in that great, and probably final work on its subject, *Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 5 Vols., 4to., 1882-98*,—where time and place of every recorded item is given with great minuteness. A mere summary glance through these volumes makes one feel that if Aberdeenshire contributions were left out, great and noble though the balance that remained would be—yet how much poorer in show and substance these volumes would be than they really are. We have only to note the contributions which came from Mrs. Brown,—James Skene of Rubislaw,—the manuscript which Skene brought from Aberdeenshire, and which Scott dubbed "The Old Lady's Collection,"—Peter Buchan's great collection, 1816-27, —Joseph Robertson's gatherings in "The Deeside Guide," and his manuscript "Adversaria," etc., to see how difficult it would be for any shire to beat such a record. A rough, but sufficiently correct calculation gives the following results:—In each of the 305 ballads dealt with by Professor Child, he selects one, if there are more versions than one, as the prime text, marking it "A"; other texts and variants of the same, following in due order "B,"

* Ministrelsy of the Scottish Border, Vol. I., p. cxxvii. (ed. 1806).

"C," "D," etc. Now, when we deduct the purely English Ballads, like the "Robin Hood" group from the 305, we have some 267 traditionary ballads,—and of these, the "A" texts gleaned in Aberdeenshire amount to 91, one-third of the whole! These are made up by 37 from Peter Buchan, 27 from Anna Gordon, 7 from Skene, and 20 from various others. When we come to the numerous *variants* of the "A" texts given in Child's work, and there are about 1000 of them, the north-eastern district from Tay to the Moray Firth supplies very nearly one-half, and Aberdeenshire almost one-third of the Scottish contributions. Truly, Joseph Robertson was quite safe when he challenged any county in Scotland to beat Aberdeenshire in ballad lore!

Cynics may say that this proves mere superiority in quantity, while the most important thing, quality, is left entirely out of account,—a cheap reputation. Not so, however; for we further note that the great "master" (Professor Child) says, in a letter now lying before us—"The original derivation of many of the ballads cannot be determined, *but that the best Scottish ballads are from the north, there can be no doubt.*"

This naturally leads us on to speak of Peter Buchan, and the contribution he made to the general stock of traditionary ballad lore. Were there any foundation for the pronouncements of some English and Anglo-Scottish writers, who, since the death of Buchan, speak sneeringly and contemptuously of the character of the man and his work, one would require

to begin with an apology when introducing such a subject. That we do not begin so, indicates, that we do not believe with these writers, that Buchan was "fradulence personified"—"wholly unreliable,"—or that the ballads he collected were rendered worthless through their being "sophisticated" by the collector. Personally, he had many failings, many weaknesses, but from what we know of the man and his great manuscript collection, we believe that any mistakes he made were those common to all editorial work which attempts to import consistency into traditional texts, and that on the whole he made an honest endeavour to secure the floating traditionary song-lore of the north-east of Scotland. He just followed as best he could the editorial ideals of his time. Although Buchan entered the field late, the district he gleaned had been till then practically unbroken ground, and hence the considerable amount of fresh matter he was enabled to add to that gathered elsewhere by other collectors. Scott, who knew the country better possibly than any other man of his time, pointed out this clearly, in his essay on Popular Poetry prefixed to later editions of the "Minstrelsy," * and expressed emphatically his belief in the genuineness of the ballads Buchan had collected. Such a judgment can not be hastily and peremptorily set aside without very good reason stated and verified, and such we have never seen.

No doubt much of Buchan's collection is inferior in character and quality to the gatherings of some

* Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. I, p. 86, 1833.

other collectors (especially Mrs. Brown's), but that fault does not lie entirely against him. It belongs rather to the class of mouths through which the ballads passed, before reaching him. To hear some critics talk, one would think that Buchan had made the ballads, not collected them, yet substantially the same versions were found, some twenty to thirty years afterwards, by Dean Christie and his father, when they were collecting ballad airs in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire—and they exist among the older people still, as witness the hundreds of records gathered by Mr. Gavin Greig, within recent years from singers in the same district. It can hardly be said that these recently gleaned versions derive from Buchan's printed texts — for even supposing that Buchan's volumes had been fully taken up by Aberdeenshire subscribers (a supposition almost the reverse of the fact) the people could not have learned them up, before Christie was among them, hearing the same versions sung. No; the close similarity between much of Greig's gleanings and Buchan's texts shows, through Christie's mediation, that Buchan gave what he got—much in the same state as he received it. These ballads were on the lips of the people before Buchan's day—and they are on the lips of a people still who know nothing of printed texts.

The pure unreasoning malignity of Ebsworth, Furnivall, and Henley and Henderson, wherever they touch on Buchan and his work, contrasts so strongly with what Scott, Sharpe, Laing, Motherwell, Chambers, and Allingham have said on the same subject,

that one is at a loss how to account for so marked a divergence of opinion. Could the feelings of disappointment and chagrin which followed the editorial bungling of the Percy Society's "Scottish Traditionary Versions of Ancient Ballads" have been transmitted along the line of English ballad editors, and Buchan made to bear the brunt of others' incapacity? We shall see. That story shall be told in due course, and readers will then be able to judge for themselves.

Everyone at all conversant with traditionary lore knows, that the quality of such lore depends entirely on the type of minds through which it comes down to us. If the rustic population from whom Buchan gleaned his texts were different, and lower in mental and moral fibre than those through whom the ballads given to us by Mrs. Brown of Falkland passed,—so much the worse for us—but no blame can be attached to the collector on that score,—he can only give us what he gets. All contemporary Scottish collectors and the greatest Continental authority of his time on traditionary ballads, Dr. Grundtvig,* are agreed that Buchan's ballads are in the main the genuine texts he received, and worthy of all acceptation as such. If he was deceived by those who, like Burton and his friends, purposely concocted "Chil Ether," and passed it off as an ancient ballad upon him, he was only sharing with Scott and others, the liability of being played upon by clever but unscrupulous correspondents. Had Buchan named Burton as the source

* See Notes and Queries, 1855, p. 21.

of that ballad, as Scott named Surtees, for those palmed on him by that writer, the extraordinary development which the "Chil Ether" story finally reached would have been checked at the beginning, and had not landed in the assertion that "*many of the pieces*" in Buchan's Ballads of the North of Scotland, 2 vols., 1828, "were manufactured by *two young men* (both since known for better things), who amused themselves by imposing their productions on the not very critical or judicious editor."* Or again Burton's own story, might have been spared being capped by a recent writer, who said that in printing "Chil Ether" Buchan "*added a note that he had been able to recover the missing stanzas.*" As a matter of fact, in the MS. from which Buchan's two volumes were printed, there is no text of "Chil Ether," but a note is made on a fly-leaf that "Chil Ether" is "printed from a manuscript apart," and there is no note, either there, or in the printed volume, anent the fragmentary nature of the piece, or the recovery of missing stanzas at all. The story is told originally in Hill Burton's "Book Hunter," p. 305—and was again retold by him in a letter to Professor Child in substantially the same terms. It runs—"Some mad young wags, wishing to test the critical powers of an experienced collector, sent him a new-made ballad, which they had been enabled to secure only in a fragmentary form. To the surprise of its fabricator, it was duly printed; but what naturally raised his surprise to astonishment, and revealed to him a secret,

* Notes and Queries, 1855, p. 135.

was, that it was no longer a fragment, but a complete ballad,—the collector, in the course of his industrious enquiries among the peasantry, having been so fortunate as to recover the missing fragments!" What authority Hill Burton had for the closing clause of his last sentence, no one has learned — possibly it was a fitting cap to a capital joke, and Burton could hardly resist that. The story, however, got early abroad, and tittle-tattle of this sort never loses in the retelling; so the *one* ballad of the "mad young wags" finally appeared as "*many of the pieces*," and Hill Burton's closing assertion, became "*a note*" to the published ballad! There is no authority for associating Joseph Robertson's name with the perpetration of this fraud, as has frequently been done by the late retailers of it, though he probably knew about it soon after the fact. Any communications from him to Buchan, about this time, that we have seen, are so friendly, that we cannot bring ourselves to believe that he had an active hand in the deception.

II

REGARDING PETER BUCHAN

HIS MANUSCRIPTS AND SOME CORRESPONDENTS.

CIRCUMSTANCES came about, a number of years ago, which brought into our possession, not only the principal Manuscript Collections of Peter Buchan, gathered by him between 1814 and 1830, but quite a pile of letters addressed to him by literary and public men, personal friends, and members of his own family. Many of these letters are very interesting in themselves, and all of them throw additional light on the life-struggles, the work, and the character of the man to whom they are addressed. We mean in the following account to use these freely, not only for their own inherent worth, but for the purpose of throwing light into dark places, and clearing away some uncertainties and groundless guesses, which have too long been allowed to befog both the man and the work which keeps his memory alive in the world of letters to-day. That Buchan was, in almost all which makes for success in life, a square man in a round hole, there is no gainsaying. His optimism was great, his vanity greater still, but his susceptibility to flattery and his infirmness of purpose, or rather fickleness, were as great as either of these. He had no sense of humour, and

so could never truly estimate his own powers, and was totally blind to those foibles, which, indulged in time and again, brought him to grief. He took himself far too seriously to see his own limitations. All these drawbacks, however, while they explain much in his chequered career, can never justify the malicious detractions and premeditated disparagements of work honestly done at considerable sacrifice, and for the sheer love of it.

The main outlines of his life have been given, time and again, in Encyclopædias, Dictionaries of Biography, and *sic like*, but these are for the most part meagre, and what is worse, very frequently unreliable. This last characteristic may be partly due to Buchan himself, who, on more than one occasion, when dire necessity urged, supplied to writers in current periodicals, such information as was hoped would make a good advertisement, and help to pull him out of the difficulties into which he had fallen. We will use these printed records when we have otherwise confirmed them. From original documents now before us, written when everything was running in quite normal channels with him, we give a brief summary of his early years. After which, we shall connect the various letters of his maturer years, with sufficient details to enable them to tell their own story.

Peter Buchan was born in Peterhead on 4th August, 1790. He was the only son of a pilot of the same name, who owned a small tenement property in the Longate of that quaint town. The genealogy of the family, which he subsequently drew up from his

grandmother's traditions, making himself out to be a descendant of the Comyns, Earls of Buchan, and the Irvines of Drum, was a fancy his romantic vanity loved to dwell upon; it fills many pages of his manuscript autobiography, but with no discoverable foundations, and it need not trouble us now. As an only son, he was somewhat pampered and spoiled in youth by the over-indulgence of his parents. The natural bent of the young lad undoubtedly lay towards mechanical inventions and contrivances, and he was finally placed by his parents as an apprentice to a mill-wright, who was locally reputed to be a genius in many crafts. Under him, young Buchan soon acquired a skill and cunning in the management and handling of tools quite marvellous. The conjoint testimony of many of his contemporaries puts this beyond dispute. His master, however, like most geniuses who put too many irons into the fire, neglected the main part of his business, and it gradually dwindled away from him. He removed to Aberdeen, and Buchan followed him there, to finish his apprenticeship under the company which had employed the master. Shortly afterwards, some disagreement arising between them anent the terms of his engagement, Buchan left, and went into the employment of a turner and carver, with whom he remained for some time. Having received sufficient inducement from a number of his late master's customers in Peterhead, he returned home, and began business there on his own account. He fitted up a shop, with a work-room at the back of it, on part of his father's feu, and became a general

jobber and worker, ready to turn his hand to anything that his customers might want, and his skill produce. He dabbled in poetry, and busied himself in attempts to acquire the art of an engraver on copper, wood, etc. From instructions given in a book that he had fallen in with, he made a rolling press which enabled him to carry to a finish his attempts in this line. We have before us an early example of the work of his graver, entitled "*The Merry Boddam Marriage*—printed and sold by Peter Buchan, Peterhead"—the imprint being within a circular ornament on the upper edge of the plate. It has some artistic merit in the grouping of the dancers, and is distinctly a curiosity. It is said that the graver he used in its production was made from a sailmaker's needle. His artistic hobbies were no doubt stimulated by the intimate friendship which then existed between him and another young genius, Alexander Chisholm, an apprentice weaver in Peterhead. Chisholm hated the loom and devoted his time to art and art studies. Both lads were fast friends and were inspired with higher ideals than they surmised any mechanical handicraft or trade could yield them; and Chisholm ultimately reached a very respectable position among the painters of his native country. He, as well as Buchan, were successively helped and patronised by the Earl of Buchan, but when that took place the protégés were under very different circumstances. Both were much given to walking tours, and had tramped all over the wide district lying between Aberdeen and Inverness,—Buchan earnestly recording all

he could glean of legendary and traditional lore, and Chisholm filling his note book with whatever in nature or human character caught his keen eye. Much against his parents' will, Buchan married in 1813, and a son was born to him in 1814. In that same year he also issued a volume of verse, and so entered on the dubious paths of authorship. His own folk thought him fickle, he seemed to settle down to nothing, and neighbours generally looked upon him as a mere idle dreamer. He read as extensively as the facilities of a small provincial town allowed, and became gradually determined to set up a printing press in Peterhead. Through the good offices of James Arbuthnot, Postmaster, the interest of the Earl of Buchan and his friends was obtained on Peter's behalf. He seems to have had no hesitation about what he should do in these circumstances, though the responsibilities and duties of family life, so lightly taken up, should have weighed with him here. He sold off his stock of goods, shop furniture, etc., and, as he puts it, "after having been eight years in the mercantile line," struck out boldly on the new project of printer, "15 December, 1815." He sailed for Edinburgh on that date,—called with letters of introduction on the Earl of Buchan and others,—was sent on to Stirling by them on December 31st to a Dr. Wingate, who got him into a printing office there, to gain insight into the art and craft of practical printing. After being ten days there, he set up and printed a song, which he sent to his Edinburgh patrons. He returned to Edinburgh on 21 January, 1816, and his friends got him

("under the guise of an itinerent bookseller," he says), into the printing establishments of John Moir (Printer to the University), and into Walker & Greig's, Parliament Close, to get further insight. He was introduced to Charles Forbes, Esq., of Auchmedden, M.P., and returned in March to Peterhead with a stock of printers' tools, goods, etc., and any number of promises from his wide circle of patrons.* He started in the old premises in the Longate, and the following letters show how things went with him from 1816 to 1819:—

* From a manuscript Autobiography in the handwriting of Buchan, 114 pp. folio, in the form of a letter to the Earl of Buchan, dated January, 1819. This is the original, purported to be given by Motherwell, but without a date, in his famous review of "The Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland," which appeared in *The Paisley Magazine* for December, 1829. The "Autobiographical Sketch," reprinted by Buchan himself in 1839, is taken verbatim from Motherwell's article, though we know that Buchan had written to Motherwell when the magazine article was on the way, asking him not to publish his letter to the Earl, but the request came too late, for most of the impression had been wrought off. Now, though the letter, as given by Motherwell, is apparently founded on, or rather extracted from this manuscript, it is written over by a more skilled and artful hand than that which wrote the crude, bombastic narrative of 1819; and besides, it contains much about matters *beyond* the date of the original, even up to 1829, the year the Earl died. We also know that prior to 1821, the Earl had ceased to have interest in Buchan and his affairs. Are we shut up to the conclusion that Motherwell's version was a re-writing of *some of the matters recorded in the above manuscript*, with additions, bringing it up to date, mainly with an eye to advertising purposes? We strongly suspect so. At least, none of the objectionable references to his father (which so offended many relatives who read it for the first time in Motherwell's

From Earl of Buchan to James Arbuthnot, Postmaster, at Peterhead.

Edinr., 7 March, 1816.

Sir,

I had the pleasure to receive yours concerning Peter Buchan, in due course, and since, a packet from Buchan himself, by which I am glad to find he is likely to prosper. Tell him that I forwarded the contents of his letter to Mr. Faichney [factor to his Lordship] at Dryburgh Abbey, who, when he returns to town, will be ready to treat for paper, with your stationer, when you have determined how many copies of the second volume of my Essays and Literary Correspondence you may be encouraged to print, which you cannot know for a considerable time to come. In the meantime Faichney will transmit to you per carrier or private hand the transcripts about to be made in addition to those marked out in *Anderson's Bee.*

The advertisement relating to the book need not consist [but] of its title:—"Letters on various subjects of Literature to the Earl of Buchan, etc., collected from various Periodical Publications." Vol. Second. Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan, Junr., Printer.

With respect to a Prospectus, it seems unnecessary as the title of the book speaks for itself, and that all unnecessary expense ought to be avoided. I entertain little doubt of Peter Buchan finding sufficient encouragement at Peter-

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print) are found in the original manuscript, and we are not aware of a *second* autobiographical Letter to the Earl after 1819.

The Manuscript is curious, and contains a detailed account of the family history as told by his grandmother—his doings and wanderings in youth and young manhood—a great deal of the poetry he wrote after the publication of 1814 (some of which appeared afterwards in the "Gleanings, 1825")—and finishes off the narrative at the time the "Annals" was in hand.

head and County of Aberdeen in the general line of his business, and believe the booksellers at Edinr. and elsewhere will encourage the sale of the proposed volume on the ordinary terms, and when the worthy Charles Forbes, Esq., M.P., comes down, I am persuaded he will continue to be kind to Peter.

I am, sir, with esteem,
Yr. hearty well-wisher,
BUCHAN.

P.S.—Being a little uneasy at the long time elapsed since Peter leaving Ednr., Mr. Forbes sent off a letter to him just the very day his packet arrived.

Various other communications, regarding this projected volume, passed between his Lordship and the printer during the years 1816 and 1817. The Earl also sent him 60 copies of Vol. I. on sale (Peter was bookseller, as well as printer), and in the letter which accompanied them, said, "You can have more copies of Vol. I. when they are required, having perfect confidence in your giving hereafter a good account of them, as I shall allow you a handsome premium on the sale of these copies." Sixty copies for Peterhead!—and the volume seems to have been in sheets, for Mr. Faichney is instructed to send "a sufficient supply of Title pages to the first Vol."!! When this packet was sent, a letter from the Earl accompanied it, from which we learn that Peter had reported to Mr. Faichney that he "was getting on well in Peterhead." Nothing, however, came of this contemplated publication, and there is still among Peter's papers a considerable roll of written matter, labelled "Manuscripts belonging to The Earl of

Buchan." He was already well on in gathering his Ballad Collections, but was now more particularly anxious to get his "Annals of Peterhead," and "History of the Keith Family" before the public. With this aim, he, early in 1819, went south to Edinburgh, with the following letter of introduction from his friend—

Jas. Arbuthnot to Sir G. B. Hepburn, Smeaton.

Peterhead, 10 Jany., 1819.

My worthy and much respected friend,

I did myself the honour of writing you a few lines during my residence at Pitfour. This will be handed to you by Mr. Peter Buchan, Printer here, a young man of very extraordinary genius, considering his limited education. He has been much patronised by the Earl of Buchan and Mr. Charles Forbes. He learned the art of printing in ten days, he engraves both upon wood and copper, he has made likewise a printing-press; he means to publish an account of the Keiths Earls of Marischal, also some account of the Town and Parish of Peterhead, as far as it is connected with the family of Keith; this book he means to publish by subscription, but he wishes to have some gentlemen of respectability in the south to sanction the undertaking. He means to show you the Manuscript, and he will esteem your advice a very singular favour.

With best comps. to Lady Hepburn and yourself, and wishing you many happy returns of the season, I remain with the highest respect,

Yours sincerely,

Jas. Arbuthnot, Junr.

Peter was advised by his friends in Edinburgh to get into touch with George Chalmers ("Caledonia"), and he accordingly wrote to him, and sent a copy of his "Recreations of Leisure Hours." Mr. Chalmers' reply reveals that he gauged in a way his correspondent, and had put his finger on one of Peter's many weaknesses—the blowing his own trumpet! Surely David Laing had given him some hints.

Geo. Chalmers to W. [?] *Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.*

Office of Trade, Whitehall,
9 March, 1819.

Sir,

I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 7th Feby., and your book of Poems. I give you a great many thanks for both. Your poems are very good considering your opportunities and obstructions. There is a whole class of poets in the annals of Scottish Poetry, the tradesmen and milkwomen, among whom you stand high, though Allan Ramsay and Burns stand higher.

But your turn of mind is not confined to Poetry alone, you can make a printing press, printing types, etc., etc. You are a Topographer as well as a Typographer, and you have written an account of Peterhead and of the House of Mareshall.

You wish to communicate these last to me: I shall be very glad to see them; as I shall have much to say about Buchan when I write my account of Aberdeenshire in my Caledonia.

If you should wish to send up the Mareshall MS., and your account of Peterhead, you have only to enclose them to me in a snug parcel which you will cover to Lord Chetwynd, whose name will carry any weight of paper. I mean that you should put the packet for me, into a wrapper to be directed to Lord Visct. Chetwynd, Whitehall, London.

I am obliged to Dr. Anderson for thinking of me. I have his body of poetry, which I find very useful on many occasions. Mr. Laing was so good as mention you, your genius and talents to me, for which I am much obliged to him. It would gratify me to be informed when and where you was born, that I may introduce you into Caledonia. With every kind wish.

Your faith. and ob. servant,
GEO. CHALMERS.

Peter had returned home from Edinburgh—dispatched parcels to David Laing and Geo. Chalmers, and in due course received from them the following :—

David Laing to Peter Buchan.

Edinr., March 22, 1819.

Dear Sir,

I duly received the old MS. but was somewhat disappointed with it,—The History of the Church being merely transcribed from a printed book which I already have. Nor is the MS. so old as you imagined. As to the leaves which contain the most important part of the volume, I find they, or at least another copy of them, had been used by Nisbet in the account which he gives (in his System of Heraldry) of the Keith Family. If you are able to get a sight of the book which is in folio (I think it is in the 2nd vol.), it might furnish you with a few additional facts—but should you not—before I send back the MS. I shall compare the two together, and get what may be additional copied out. Yet I doubt not, provided you take sufficient time in order to secure accuracy (for much depends upon the old mode of spelling, etc., being faithfully adhered to), and use all necessary endeavours to collect existing information—that, though there may [not] appear much novelty in the information, thus collected, it will at least be respectable,—useful—and perhaps profitable.

When you get the Prospectus ready, be so good as send me some to Edinr. as the best mode of letting the project be known—as well as the likeliest method of procuring information from some gentlemen likely in possession of it. If you could get these sent to Aberdeen — any of the booksellers there — such as Messrs. Angus, or A. Brown & Co. will easily get them included in some parcel coming to Edinr. When I receive these I shall do what I can to forward your scheme—and write you about it at greater length.

I was glad to hear that Mr. Chalmers had fulfilled—or I might even say exceeded my expectations—in acknowledging with praise your little Vol. I hope this will encourage you to go on with greater energy and spirit—seeing that some individuals are willingly disposed in your favour. Yet would I still advise you to be cautious, while persevering—and endeavour to produce what may receive more than the praise of the few—and let praise only stimulate to stronger and more determined exertions to excell. I was writing to Mr. C. the same day as I heard from you — and wrote him what you requested — and delivered your letter to Dr. A[nderson] who was glad to hear you had got home in safety. I have only time to add my good wishes for success in all your undertakings —and that I am,

Very truly yours,

David Laing.

David Laing to Peter Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Edinr., 4 June, 1819.

Dear Sir,

I duly received your letter with copies of the Prospectus, the other night. I had begun to think, in consequence of not hearing from you, that my letter had not reached you. I shall do what I can for the Annals—but people here are but little accustomed to subscribe for books—particularly

when it is so moderate a price and size as your Vol. is to be. There would be more chance of disposing of copies when it is finished—but I shall let you know,—and in the meantime get it mentioned in the different magazines of this place. Indeed when the interest is so local, as the Annals of necessity are, I would not have you to flatter yourself too much of success, beyond Peterhead and its neighbourhood.

I am glad you have obtained access to the Records, as this will give a decided stamp of authenticity to your work, and let me advise you to make ample use of them (even should doing so increase the price of the volume a little), and to preserve their original appearance and orthography as much as possible.

With respect to the Family of Keith, I may say I have done nothing as yet—waiting for the Prospectus. When you get this printed I shall then do what I can. In the meantime I return you the old folio MS. you sent, except that I have kept out the leaves concerning the Keiths. These I shall get stitched up separately, and preserve them carefully,—and have done so, partly because afterwards I may not have the same opportunity of sending the volume back, as I can have of returning the leaves, and partly as I shall have occasion to examine them, whilst I have no use for the rest. I believe also you wished me at some time or other to send this part up to London for Mr. Chalmers' inspection. Since he has the transcript of it, however, this would now be useless. I shall the next time I write him, mention the additional information as to Peterhead you have obtained, and am sure he will concur with me as to the advantage you should take, and the manner of doing it I have suggested. Wishing you all success both in your literary and practical exertions,

I remain, etc.,

DAVID LAING.

Geo. Chalmers to Peter Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Office of Trade, Whitehall,
Septr., 1819.

Sir,

I have been favoured with a number of your communications on various subjects. In the meantime I have spent five weeks at Ramsgate, and on my return received your letter of the 8th inst. I am sorry that your friend should have travelled about London a whole day in quest of my habitation, and without finding it. This may easily be. But the people of the Ship which brought him, or the wharffingers very easily found my house, with my name on the door, as they know the town, and brought me your engraving of Peterhead.

For this and your other communications, I am much obliged to you. I wish I could be of more use to you—but I am so occupied with business, and with studies, that I am quite unable to peruse the large collection of your various collections which you were so good as to send me some time ago; and which (including what you say about the Marischal family), I am ready to return if I knew how.

You may send your Annals of Peterhead to Mr. Laing, Southbridge St., Edinburgh, who can easily send it up by the Coach or otherwise.

If anything else should occur to me that would be of use to you, I will endeavour to write you again when I am less pressed upon by various avocations. Meanwhile I am with great regard,

Yours faith. and obt.,

GEO. CHALMERS.

From the above letter, almost any other man except Buchan could have seen that the writer wanted to close the correspondence, to return the collections

which had been sent to him, and to receive, through Mr. Laing, the Work he had ordered—but Peter wrote again—and sent *direct* the copy of the "Annals." To this Mr. Chalmers replied as follows :—

Geo. Chalmers to P. Buchan, Junr., Peterhead.

Office of Trade, Whitehall,
1 November, 1819.

My Good Sir,

I have received your "Annals of Peterhead" with your letter of 30 Septr., which I suppose came by ship. I thank you very much for both. The "Annals" perhaps contain more of useful facts than is generally to be found in such local works. The misfortune is that there is so few readers of such writings, and of course so little to be made by such publications.

I see you wish for the return of your large folio collection, containing your MS. of the history of the family of Keith ; and that I would send it by the "Mary," Capn. Hendry. The truth is that I sent it some time ago, in a parcel which I was sending to Mr. Kennedy, Advocate, in Aberdeen, with a request that he would send it by the Carrier to you at Peterhead. I cannot help thinking but he must have received it, and sent it forward to you, as I desired. You will do me a favour if you will on the receipt of this, inform me in a few words, whether your parcel had got safe to hand; as this will remove some of my anxieties. With good wishes,

Your obt. Sert.,

GEO. CHALMERS.

The glamour of becoming a printer and establishing the first printing-press in his native town buoyed Buchan up hopefully for some years, but the close

application to work during the getting out of the "Annals of Peterhead," and the "Account of the Keith Family," told severely on his health,—never very good at the best. He began to weary of the drudgery at case and press, and the flattery of friends did anything but help him in his daily work. Whether the initial move came from Buchan himself, or from his eccentric patron, we cannot tell, but in a letter from Mr. Faichney, dated 19 Dec., 1819, we learn something about a project to send Peter to study at the University. "His Lordship," says Mr. F., "has desired me to request of you to know whether you would prefer Edinr. or Aberdeen College to study at. If you should choose the former, I am desired to make enquiry if there can any situation be got as secretary in any of the printing offices here, to assist you during the time of your study, which I shall most certainly do—in the meantime will be glade that you will explain your plans to me, who will not fail to inform his Lordship, who, I assure you, will take a particular interest in your promotion in literature." The utter fatuity of such proposals to one in Peter's position, with a home and family dependent upon him, without any means beyond the earnings derived from a new and precarious business, would have been patent to any ordinary mortal,—but then, neither patron nor protégé could be called ordinary mortals, especially when their vanity was tickled! Peter no doubt was flattered by the proposal,—and his inability to embrace it, we may be sure, must have galled him not a little, especially at a time when the old fickleness was

again manifesting itself. He had been moving some of his friends in Edinburgh who had influence, and they did try again and again to get him into some employment where duties would be lighter, and pay more regular and certain than he had found it in the life of a jobbing printer. It was of no avail, however. Echoes of such movements are found in many of the letters now before us, but to the last his hopes were fated to disappointment. David Laing turned out to be a wiser adviser in the everyday affairs of his working life than his aristocratic patrons were—if Buchan had had ears to hear.

From a letter written 24 Sep., 1820, to his brother-in-law, we learn that printing work having been dull for some time, Buchan had set out for the south, and spent more than a month in visiting Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Dumbarton, etc., in each of which he says he was received by those whom he called upon, "with open hearts and willing hands." His stay, however, had been so long, that his wife and mother were getting quite uneasy about him and his home business. Accordingly a letter reached him in Edinburgh from his wife, urgently requesting him to come home, as "several jobs have been lost, and several are waiting for you, which I am afraid you will also lose, if you protract your stay." This was like him all through life, the things of present importance were neglected, whenever any of his day-dreams or delusions had taken possession of him. When he came home, he wrote to a friend telling him about a great work which some of the literati of Edin-

burgh had been pressing him to take up, *viz.*, "A Biographical Sketch of the Lives of all those who have cultivated the Muses, or written Poetry in Aberdeenshire from the earliest period to the present time, with specimens of their poetry." This and kindred subjects crop up in his letters to Laing for some time.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Edinr., Oct. 25, 1820.

Dear Mr. Buchan,

Added to the want of a proper opportunity, I deferred writing till I could get a copy of the No. of the Review to send you in which there is a brief notice of your last volume. Nothing has transpired since you left this, as to what you are most anxious. I delivered the "Annals" and the letter to Dr. Anderson who agreed with me as to the propriety of keeping back Mr. MacKenzie's copy for a time. Dr. I[rving] has not returned yet from Germany, but is expected, I understand, before the middle of November. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing Mr. M. nor likely shall till the course (perhaps the latter end) of next month. I return you the letter you meant for him, being perfectly convinced, if you entertain any hopes in that quarter, the delivery of it would at once defeat them. I would have you to write another, in quite a different style,—brief, simple, but manly,—containing a short allusion to your present situation, your wishes for, and the necessity of a change,—with the modest expectations you have formed, or at least how easily you would be satisfied, were he to keep you in view, in the event of any office in the country falling vacant, which belonged to his department. And do this, without using *one single hyperbolical expression.* For your character you may refer him to any one you know here, to Dr. A. or myself, or even Ld. B. whose words

flow easily, and may help to endure the weight of the recommendation. There might be no great harm at the close (for he is not entirely free from the ruling passion of vanity) to give a gentle hint of what he's done on former occasions for others.

I am sorry to hear your acquaintance wont part with Boece, and wish that you had sent me a look of it. In the first parcel there will be no harm in doing this as I shall return it safely. For perhaps if I find it contains any leaves that would suit mine, he might be prevailed on to part with these, though he would not with the entire volume. In particular I wish it had either the first title, or the last leaf, however bad might be their preservation. I have a curious old copy of "Holinshead's Chronicle" (which in fact contains all Boece), with wooden cuts—and the condition of which may rival the one I refer to—I should willingly give in exchange for the leaves (supposing the copy to have them) which I want to get. I shall on second thoughts send you up the volume in the parcel, but you had as well say nothing with regard to the proposed exchange untill I shall be able to state explicitly what may be required.

I should also like to have an inspection of the volume of Ballads, etc., printed before the year 1800. You mention in your letter having enclosed in the parcel Mr. Skinner's MSS., but these I have not recd. I suppose you may have kept them out when you sent the parcel by land. As to the Aberdeen Cantus, etc., I shall not stir, for if the proprietor cannot get it back, I certainly have little chance. Besides it is not the edition I am in quest of.

I do not remember anything else to mention except it be that you will observe there is no occasion for your being too anxious to send or write immediately on receipt of this —except an opportunity should occur.

Yours very sincerely,

DAVID LAING.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Edinr., Nov. 30, 1820.

My Dear Sir,

I had intended to write you for some days, and least I should delay any longer—I shall do it at present having just received your small parcel of the 18th. I wonder much that a parcel forwarded through me for Aberdeen more than a month ago should not have reached you—as I then wrote—giving some of the information you wished for—and which I am sorry to say was not so favourable as I could have wished. At present I shall say nothing about the Aberdeen Poets, untill I shall find a safe opportunity of transmitting Skinner's MSS. and Allan's, (should Sir Wm. Forbes enable me to do so). This may perhaps not be for two or three weeks,—as I have some prospect of speedily going to England for a short time. This rendered me anxious to write you before setting off (and I have just received the promise of a Frank)—as I know how uneasy you will be at my apparent silence.

In my former letter I mentioned the propriety of sending me another letter for Mr. MacKenzie, in place of the one you sent, and which I then sent back. Since that time the visit of a particular friend of Mr. McK.'s to Edinr. enabled me to have the means of ascertaining what hopes were to be looked for in that quarter. I enclose you the note I received, but Mr. M., Junr., has not yet called. I think now there will be no impropriety in delivering the copy of the "Annals," and unless you may have sent a new letter, it may be as well not to write what I recommended you should do. I shall get the "Annals" properly delivered with such a message as may supersede the necessity of that letter,—for I do not suppose your intention of presenting the book to have changed. Dr. Irving has returned from Germany, but they seem (as I was in the Library to-day) to have made no new arrangements as yet. I do not wish, if it can be avoided, to propose what you want,

but shall endeavour to get your friend Dr. A[nderson] to urge it. Thus you see you must bear yourself up patiently, and be assured if anything in my power can be accomplished for your prosperity—it shall cheerfully be done.

In my former letter, I stated my anxiety to have a sight of Boece, etc., but have only time to add—and in haste—that

I remain, yours truly,
DAVID LAING.

In a letter from Dr. Robert Anderson (16 Jany., 1821), full explanations are given of the various attempts that had been made, but without any hopeful prospects, to get a suitable situation for Peter. Its most pertinent item, however, is the following:—"In a visit to the Earl of Buchan, in the autumn, [1820], I took occasion to mention your embarrassed situation,—but I could not engage his attention to it, in the smallest degree." This sudden change of attitude in his Lordship is quite in keeping with his known eccentricities, and probably had no other cause than mere change of whim. It no doubt astonished Buchan much, who was very thankful for past favours, and desirous to keep in his good graces. Some slight reference to this falling off occurs in a letter from the Earl's natural son, Captain David Erskine to Buchan, in 1822, but it gives no light. At all events, this letter of Dr. Anderson's records the *exit* from Peter's life of his titled patron. Seven years after, when Buchan was canvassing for subscribers to his "Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland," he called on the Earl, who gave him a certificate written in the third person, recommending the work to his friends and the public, but—he did not subscribe himself.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Jany. 20, 1821.

Dear Mr. Buchan,

I received, some time ago, the parcel with Boece and the Vol. of Ballads. They had got some damp I think on the way hither. I should have written immediately after, but waited partly for a frank, and partly to get a few lines for you from the Dr. [Anderson]. Having succeeded in the one, I think I shall be able to get the letter sent free to Aberdeen, as I can't fall in with a member to get it franked all the way. Notwithstanding the extreme bad state of Boece, it contains so many leaves wanting in mine, as would go pretty far to render it complete. Now you would oblige me much, could you prevail on your friend to part with them, either for the Vol. of Holinshead or for something else. Has he Calderwood's History? He might have it also. The leaves wanting perhaps may be about twenty, and I should put what remains in such a state as would not much reduce its value. These leaves are introductory, so would leave the History nearly complete. Try what you can do, as I wish much to have my copy as perfect as possible.

The Vol. of Ballads, I should like also to have a part of, if you would exchange them for others of a more recent date. When I hear from you in regard to these, I shall make up a small parcel for you, containing such books and papers as I have the loan of from you meantime.

I remain, etc.,

DAVID LAING.

I have heard nothing with regard to the MS. Vol. from Sir Wm. Forbes.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Feby. 7, 1821.

Dear Sir,

On receiving your letter the other day, I enquired after the vessel you mentioned--but found it had sailed three days previously. Another opportunity of getting it transmitted (by the Aberdeen Coach) having occurred, I have resolved not to lose it. I therefore return to you such things as I have belonging to you—but should anything have escaped me, be so good as mention it. The Ballads you will observe I have taken the liberty of cutting up. Should you be at any time disposed to part with all, or any of those tied up with a piece of twine,—I shall accept your terms, whatever they may be, as I am sure they will not be unreasonable. The vol. about the Rebellion is curious, but I have seen it perfect. And the Boece, you must make the best of that you can. It is the best way after all, which you proposed—as the proprietor will be easier enabled to judge of the damage he may have suffered in the leaves retained. Only as they are taken out and stuck into my own, I am afraid (if he is so disposed) he may not find it an easy matter to get them back. For although they are in a truly miserable state they answer my purpose in the meantime, till better ones should cast up. You must therefore soothe him the best way you can—and give him the volume of Holinshead—to keep him quiet—and should this fail, you may add your copy of the Calderwood, which shall have its place supplied with one that is perfect for your managing this affair for me.

I intended sending you something about the Aberdeenshire Poets, but in consequence of your letter, have deferred them along with the MS. leaves of Skinner. An account of the earlier poets with a few occasional extracts, by way of Introduction, would be very suitable, but I would not advise you to do more (for reasons to be given

afterwards), but, to lay the object of the publication mainly in those of last century, beginning with or after Meston.— If you have no other object in coming to Edinr. than merely to make extracts, I think I could save you that trouble, by sending you the loan of nearly *all* the books that would be requisite. I wish you could furnish me with a list of the names of such poets, since the time of Meston, as you know of, with any passing remark on the extent of their works, and I shall write you further on the subject. By the way, I sent your note about "Whirry Whigs awa'" to Hogg (who is presently in Ednr.) but it was too late for the Relics.* In the parcel you will find "Scott on Witchcraft" which if you don't like, at any reasonable time can be returned.

Yours truly,

DAVID LAING.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Peterhead.

Edinr., Sep. 5, 1821.

My Dear Sir,

The appearance of Mr. Clarke in Edinr. and his informing me that he returns to-morrow, reminded me of what I should have done long since, I am sorry to say that nothing has occurred, but still think if you could

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*Early in 1818 Buchan had got into correspondence with Hogg, then engaged on the 1st Series of "The Jacobite Relics." From the preface to that volume we find that contributions had been sent from Aberdeenshire by Mr. Wallace, Mr. Buchan, and Mr. Graham, but Hogg complains that, like the songs he got from Scott, scarcely one had the name of the *air* mentioned. The contributions from Peterhead are duly noted where they occur throughout the work.

conveniently visit this place for a few days, you might be able at least to satisfy yourself whether anything can be done—and how.

I have been expecting to hear from you for some time past, with regard to the Aberdeen Poets, and what service I can be to you in the loan of Books, etc. When you tell me this, I shall make up a small parcel, and get it transmitted to Peterhead. Not having your last letter by me, and no time left, I must content myself at present with adding

I am, yours faithfully,

DAVID LAING.

It was about this time that the experience in London occurred, out of which sprang, some years later, the volume which he named "Scriptural and Philosophical Arguments that Brutes have Souls." He says in the preface to that volume (1824)—"During my residence in London—I was subject to very indifferent health which, to avoid, I frequented as much as possible all the public places in the vicinity of London, and other popular cities and towns of England." The tradition connected with this residence in London is that he had got an appointment at £150 per annum, but had, after trial, to give it up on the score of ill health, and return again to Peterhead and his printing business.* That

*Another rumour of his having contributed largely to Chalmers' "Caledonia," has not been verified beyond the Collections and Keith family papers he sent for Mr. C.'s inspection, mentioned in the letters September and November, 1819, (see pp. 30-31). Whether or not any of these were to be used, we cannot say, as the account of the Buchan district was not printed in the volumes which the author lived to finish.

something of this kind had happened there can be no doubt, for shortly after the receipt of Laing's last letter we have jottings among Peter's papers of a valuation of his stock in trade, his printing presses, fonts of type, cases, chases, furniture, etc., etc., amounting to £137, which may have been made either for ultimate sale purposes, or for handing over, as a measure of their responsibility, to those who undertook the working of the business during his absence. Again, after his return, and a new rumour arising that he was about to go to the West Indies, his friend, Mr. Allardyce of Cairnbulg, writes him (November 28, 1822)—"I heard of your return to Buchan, and was every day expecting to hear from you, or perhaps see you here. I wish you could find it advantageous to stay in your own country,—at your time of life, it will be against your health to leave it; and the *short trial lately made, corroborates this opinion.*" From the letters in our possession, all addressed to him at Peterhead, the residence in London could only have covered a few months. His trade, by all accounts we can obtain, was very fair for a small provincial town, and would probably have grown, if it had been properly attended to. But he was too erratic for the plodding industry of a jobbing printer. New projects, large schemes, something that was to boom and bear him on to fame and fortune, was ever forming in his sanguine imagination. The growing responsibilities of family life pressed on him heavily. He had very wisely determined that his sons should receive a thoroughly sound education, and to his

credit be it said, he never flagged in his endeavours to carry that through. But for attention to the numerous petty details of a harassing business, from hour to hour and from day to day, he had no aptitude, and he chafed under it till he was sick of the whole concern. He could spend days, cheerfully, gathering old ballads,—hunting out some "quaint and curious volume of forgotten lore,"—but with the small details of business, so essential to be looked after to keep the pot boiling,—he had no patience. His dreams of property and independence, and his attempts to make these dreams actualities, were, as one of his sons remarked in after life, from first to last "his foible all along."

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Edinr., Oct. 19, 1822.

Dear Peter,

I hope you have received a letter which I wrote to you in great haste a few days ago, enclosing Five Pounds to the account of which the statement is now enclosed, in order to receive your corrections. With this you will find Skinner's MSS., which, in truth, I have kept too long. They are curious, but not of any intrinsic value. Should the possessor, however, be inclined to part with them, or a part of them, on any reasonable terms, I should be glad if [you] could manage the matter for me, as I am anxious to have a specimen of his handwriting for a volume of Autographs, which I mean to collect of the Scottish Poets. Your own I expect as a matter of course, I therefore return the verses on *May*, which you formerly sent me, as I think

you may be able, if not, to furnish me with something better, at least to improve them. The truth is, if you will excuse me for saying so, that they are written in bad taste, and as a caution to avoid the use of such words, as you will see are scored under with a pencil, let me request you, at some time or other, to write them over again, in a more simple and natural style. Look at Burns, you will never find him making use of such terms, let them be local, or the language of the common people, if you choose, but not pedantick. Whether this advice be good or not, ask your friend Mr. Cunningham, and show him the lines at the same time.* I am in no hurry in the world for these things, and if you can pick me up the Autographs of any of your north country Poets, I shall willingly allow you what you may demand. Whether they may have been printed or not is immaterial, but such as Skinner, Ross of Lochlee, Forbes, or Francis Douglas would be highly desirable.

Yours truly,

DAVID LAING.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

13 May, 1823.

Dear Sir,

I was glad to receive your last letter, not being able to account for your long silence, unless supposing you might have taken offence at something or other, which I might have written. I regret, however, that having laid aside your letters till I should have time to call on Mr. Todd and

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*Peter did not believe him, however. He subsequently printed the piece in his "Gleanings," p. 135, exactly as originally written.

write in reply—that they should have escaped me till a few days ago, when the subject of Witchcraft, etc. (on which a friend of mine has been preparing an Enquiry into the Physical Causes from which he considers the belief in Apparitions has originated) brought them to my recollection; and probably, from what you say with regard to the one for Mr. T.—that this delay may have rendered its object less necessary, or, at least, that there is *a chance of your having changed your mind on the subject of prosecution*, I shall not deliver it till Saturday first, by which time is allowed, by return of post to countermand it if so inclined.

With regard to your *Witchcraft dissected* [?] you must be aware that such a book is more likely to sell in country towns than either here or in London. And as we are so much out of the way of publishing, and, in fact, could not do justice to it, we would rather you should keep our names out of the title, but shall take a few copies—say a dozen—to be some little encouragement. If you wish it, I can speak to some other booksellers in this place, and see if they are inclined to undertake the charge of selling it here for you,—but for this it would be necessary to have a copy of the whole, or some part of the volume, to let them know the nature of the work. As for Stationers' Hall, I know of no other plan than by sending them up 11 copies for the different public libraries entitled to the privilege of receiving them.

If you pick me up any of the Autographs I wrote about, I shall be very thankful—those of Skinner, I was not anxious for in particular—but should prefer one of his songs, if such can be had.

Expecting to hear from you soon (you had better write at once by post), and begging you will excuse my negligence, but with best wishes for success.

Yours,

DAVID LAING.

Towards the end of 1823 trade difficulties were becoming more and more acute with him. Whether he had been pursuing his hobbies of ballad and old-book hunting more keenly than before, to the neglect of his regular business, we cannot tell, but the tone of many of his letters to his personal friends became quite despondent regarding his prospects in Peterhead. Certainly opposition in the form of a rival printer took place in 1824, when John Davidson (supposed to have been Peter's assistant), gathered together sufficient plant and started business on his own account. This rivalry seems to have put Buchan on his mettle, and in so doing did him good, for his opponent in a very short time dropped out of the competition, and left the "Auchmedden Press" a clear field in the locality.* Business matters, after this, seem to have gone on in a fair way for some time, most of his publications having a very ready sale. His "Gleanings of Scarce Old Ballads, 1825," met with an excellent reception, and gave the outside world the

*We have been led to understand, although we have never had it clearly verified, that this John Davidson migrated to Aberdeen, where he very soon became a printer of considerable local note. In 1829, when the *Observer* newspaper was started, a new printing establishment was also brought into existence at 68 Broad Street, under the designation of "John Davidson & Co." When the co-partnery which ran the *Observer* wound up that paper in 1837—the same printing firm took up the issue of its successor *The Constitutional.* They had a large general printing business of good standing. The office was removed from Broad Street to Castle Street in 1838. Davidson died 1 March, 1839, and was buried in the Old Churchyard of Nigg.

first hint of the gatherings he had been making in the ballad line, for he concludes his preface with the remark that "should my countrymen, and those of taste, give encouragement to the present attempt . . . . . I have some hundreds beside the present which have not made their appearance"; and we are led to understand that their publication depended on the success of his present venture. He dedicated the "Gleanings" to Scott, and after its success was apparent, consulted him by letter anent the larger venture. Scott was cautious, however, and hinted that it would be rash to proceed on so expensive an undertaking without such a list of subscribers as would insure no risk of loss.

In due course Buchan set himself to prepare his collection of traditionary Ballads and Songs for publication. He had made various trade connections during his frequent visits to Edinburgh (David Laing being chief among these)—and in April, 1827, we find him, in a letter to John Stevenson, the well known bookseller, announcing that he is busy "preparing with all haste a large collection of unpublished ancient ballads of Scotland,"—that he intends the work to be in four volumes octavo, or two volumes quarto, but would defer to Mr. Stevenson's judgment in this matter. The letter concludes—"I will be in Edinburgh soon, and would like it published there, or in London, by a respectable bookseller, somewhat in the superior style of fineness as Mr. Kinloch's published by you, ... I will consult Mr. Laing and you, on my arrival."

Buchan accordingly arrived in Edinburgh in August with the huge manuscript collections made by him from 1816 to 1827. The title of the volume, a large folio of 1,112 pages, runs :—

"The Ancient Unpublished National
BALLADS OF SCOTLAND,
Historical and Legendary ;*

Containing the Loves and Amours, the Warlike and Heroic Deeds of the Kings, the Noblemen and Private Gentlemen of that Country, in the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, as taken down from the recitation of very old people ; with explanatory Notes, by Peter Buchan.—In four volumes.

The ancient spirit is not dead
Old times we trust are living here.

1827."

No time ~~time~~ was lost in laying this collection before Mr. Laing, C. K. Sharpe, and Sir Walter Scott.† The last named wrote—

Sir Walter Scott to Peter Buchan.

Sir,

My leisure only permits me to say a few words on the curious volume of Songs and Ballads, which you left in my possession yesterday. They are, most of them, unknown to me, and excepting two or three seem to have been faith-

*The word "Chiefly" is added here in another hand.

† See *Scott's Journal*, vol. II., p. 24.

fully recited and taken down, so that I have no doubt of being genuine. What degree of encouragement the public may be disposed to give these simple ditties, I really do not know, but I should imagine that a subscription for a small selection may easily be procured. As it would be very inadvisable to make the collection a large one, I think the ballads which you leave out, ought to be those which are only distinguished as different editions of well-known songs, as the general reader cannot be supposed to attach much value to the various renderings of works of this kind, which are almost infinite, as every one who rehearsed them were naturally led to make changes.

I sincerely hope your proposed work may fully compensate the time and trouble you have bestowed in collecting so many very interesting Reliques of the olden time, and am Sir,

Your humble sevt.,

WALTER SCOTT.

Abbotsford, 23 August [1827].

He also wrote to Sharpe as follows* :—

"Many thanks my dear Charles, for your kind letter, which reached per favour of a hirsute poet of Peterhead, called Peter Buchan, or Beichan, as he rather terms it. His collection is very curious, and, two or three pieces excepted, in general genuine. Indeed, the man does not seem capable of supplying their want of authenticity by any tolerable degree of genius. I scarce know anything so easily discovered as the piecing and patching of an old ballad, the darns in a silk stocking are not more manifest.

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* "Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, 1888," II., p. 424, where it is given under the year 1828 instead of of 1827, August, 23rd.

Mr. Buchan has been extremely active and successful in his researches. Some of the Songs are, I suspect, originally Danish. I advised Mr. Buchan to leave out most, if not all, of these ballads, of which he has given barely various readings; it would be a great thing to say of them all *Never before printed*, which could not be said if he takes in worn editions of "Johnie Armstrong," "Young Musgrave," "Robin Hood," and the like, merely because they are different sets from those in common currency. He may easily attend to this, for if he would really make a little money, he must not let his collection go beyond two volumes, or three at the very utmost."

Buchan returned home early in September, after having agreed, with the advice of his Edinburgh friends, to leave out of the proposed work whatever they deemed likely to impair its value. John Stevenson was to be the publisher, and Laing and Sharpe were to see it through the press. Stevenson, however, was a very cautious man, and after Peter's face was turned to the north, he submitted the MS. for report to Robert Jamieson, before finally committing himself. The Report was as follows :—

Robert Jamieson to Mr. Stevenson, Bookseller, Edinr.
[*Sep.* 1827].

Dear Sir,

I have looked over Mr. Buchan's Collection of Ballads, as well as the Notes. The selection made by Mr. Sharpe is just such as I should have expected from his good taste, judgment and knowledge of the subject; and I am perfectly of his opinion as to the Notes. In the present state of the trade it will be highly advisable to cover the expense of publication by a subscription, which I think it

will not be difficult to do: but many will subscribe for 2 volumes, who would not subscribe for three. The Ballads selected will fill *two*, and the Notes will require a *third*, which may afterwards be added, when called for. In the meantime I hope Mr. Buchan will give discretionary powers to Mr. Sharpe *where such are wanted*, to prefix *brief notices* by which immediate satisfaction would be given, without anticipating such further illustrations as may be thought expedient.

I have the honour to be,

Yours, etc.,

ROBERT JAMIESON.

C. K. Sharpe to Peter Buchan, Peterhead.

Edin., 18 October, 1827.

Dear Sir,

I return you many thanks for the present you were so good as to send me—the little box I retain and value extremely—but as I already possess a pair of gloves similar to these, I cannot in conscience keep up to the cormorant character of a virtuoso, and accept of what I have already, — so with a proper sense of your friendship I restore them to you. I wish much that I could be of any use to you in your literary adventure—but I find strange *qualms* in people as to the *Notes*, which I am in no sort able to obviate. I am told that when at Paisley you had an offer of £50 for your MSS., and tho' I do think that sum much below their value, yet I know, from tiresome experience, so much of the hazard and plague of printing that, if this tale be true, I would strongly advise you to make the bargain, and endure no more *fash* in the affair. As to the "Traditionary Tales of Scotland," tho' your undertaking is most laudable,

yet I fear greatly that you will scarcely be rewarded for your trouble,—as the taste of this stupid age, and most dull and degenerate country we live in, runs entirely on Novels, Reviews, Obscene Poems, Religious Tracts, and voyages to the moon and the antipodes.

Farewell, Dear Sir, and believe me,

Yours faithfully,

C. KIRKPATRICK SHARPE.

The collector was getting impatient, and in November wrote to Stevenson to know the cause of delay in going on with the publication. Stevenson in his reply quoted the terms on which he would undertake the work, and enclosed Jamieson's Report on the MS. This roused Peter's ire very considerably, as the following letter to Sharpe shows :—

Buchan to C. K. Sharpe.

Peterhead, Dec. 24, 1827.

My kind and highly respected Friend,

With your favour of the 18th Oct: I was duly honoured, and beg you will accept of my best thanks from a grateful heart, for your kind attention and advice regarding my interests. What you hinted in your own house, when I had the pleasure of a personal interview, and what you have since suggested would come to pass, regarding employing a Bookseller in the publication of my work, I have already experienced. Although four months have elapsed since I was in Edinr. still nothing has been done to facilitate the progress of the work, the MSS. of which I left for the purpose of being immediately thereafter put to the press. On writing Mr. Stevenson to know the cause of the delay, he sent me many apologies; among the rest, the Notes

were too long and for that purpose he had applied to Mr. Jamieson to write a long letter on the subject, which was sent to me, with hints from himself, saying that he had shown the MSS. to several literary gentlemen, and they were all of the same opinion as Mr. Jamieson, etc., and proposed that I should employ Mr. J. or some other person to abridge them, who would do it for *payment.*

In the first place it was both ungentlemanly and unfair, thus to exhibit the MSS. in such a public manner. In the second place, he had no authority from me for so doing, as I had left the whole power vested in your hands, to do with them what seemed best in your sight, and no one's else, as you were so very kind and agreeable to revise the proofs, etc. On receiving Mr. S.'s letter, I wrote to my very much valued friend, Mr. Motherwell, Paisley, asking his opinion and advice, when I was favoured with his answer per return of post. He therefore told me that he would not allow any one else to alter a single word or sentence of the *Notes;* as to the generality of readers, the notes become the most interesting part, however lengthy. I know that a few gentlemen who have seen them in Edinr. would prefer them without notes at all, but they are not in proportion to the others as one to twenty, and my object is, in the meantime, to realise a little from their sale, as I have laid out too much already. I then wrote to Mr. Stevenson to send me the MSS. by return of coach, but instead of that, he kept them back nearly a month after. As they are now in my possession, I intend publishing them myself, and to run all risks and hazards,—as from the terms Mr. S. sent me, they would be published by him upon, were such, that instead of me *gaining* anything from their publication, I would become his *debtor* sixty or seventy pounds.

Since I have been in Edinr. I have still persevered in collecting olden ditties, and am happy to say, have been extremely fortunate, for I have got as many as fill an ordinary Vol. of the very finest old songs to be met

with anywhere. Most of them are called by the names of Old Scottish Tunes. But before one of them is printed, I will submit them all to your good taste and superior judgment, and be advised accordingly.

He then goes on to say that he is to print a prospectus of his "Ballads and Songs," which he hopes to get permission to dedicate to the Duchess of Gordon; and requests a few lines of recommendation from C. K. S., and hopes also for the same from Sir W. Scott, to be inserted in his prospectus, after which he is to start canvassing for subscribers. The Prospectus was ready in January, 1828, and he immediately set about a local canvass, and obtaining letters of introduction to influential persons in the south and in London. On 27 Jany. he wrote to Sharpe that he had "got a good many subscribers here" [Aberdeen], and that his "next attempt will be in Edinr." His friend, Irvine of Drum, having a decided taste for old-world lore, interested himself much in the forthcoming volumes.

Hugh Irvine, Esq. (of Drum), to Peter Buchan, Peterhead.

Drum, 4 March, 1828.

Sir,

I received the MSS. quite safe, accompanied by your letter. If you have time to make a copy of the "Verses on the Death of Mussle-Mou'd Charlie," I shall be very glad to have them, and shall be here till the 11th, and in Aberdeen till 15th, on which day I proceed south. I hope to get a few more subscribers to your work before I return

in summer. It is one that can be recommended in perfect sincerity, and which will form a valuable addition to the stock of legendary poetry for which Scotland is so remarkable.

I trust you will soon be able to put it into the hands of the printer. In regard to the note about the Drum family, you will perceive that nothing is said of the early traditions respecting it. We have no documents before 1323,—but the common idea is that one of two brothers attached himself to Bruce, when on his way to Dumfries, where he killed Comyn, and who followed him through all his adventures. Whether it was the older or younger brother is not known, and upon this depends the question whether the Drum or Bonshaw family are chief. It is likewise said that the father of these brothers had a tower to which Bruce came on his way to Dumfries, so that it is possible the family had been settled in that part of the country for some time previous. I mean to investigate these particulars, if possible, on the spot,—at present my information is too vague to allow of particularizing. The Bonshaw family have likewise charters from Bruce.

Wishing you every success in your undertaking,

Your obt. Servt.,

HUGH IRVINE.

He set off for Edinburgh early in May, carrying with him once more the large manuscript he intended to print. With the assistance of Sharpe and Laing, he speedily came to an arrangement with the printer for two volumes as proposed in the autumn of 1827; everything connected with the selection and printing to be absolutely under the control of the gentlemen named. This settled, Buchan was free to pursue his canvass for subscribers, which he did with great

diligence through the south and west of Scotland, onward to London, and did not get home till October —when the Ballads were almost ready for delivery.

Sharpe and Laing did their part of the work well, although early in its progress some differences arose between them, which in the light of Sharpe's letters to Scott, did not augur well for Peter's printed text. In an undated letter Sharpe writes,—"I have had two terrible literary flytes here lately, in which I often wished for you to back me, being almost certain of your invincible aid. The first was about Peter Buchan's ballads, which Mr. Secretary Laing hath got to edite. Peter desired me to look over the proofs; but when they came I found that Mr. David set up for a poet, and altered word and verse. The beauty of the alterations you may guess at, knowing the person. I entered my protest, declaring I would have nothing to do with the matter if such abominations went on, so after a world of debate, that matter was carried on the side of common-sense and propriety."* In another undated letter we have the statement:—"Peter Buchan hath put forth his Ballads. Mr. Secretary corrupted the first seventeen pages, but the rest is faithfully printed;—and since the 'Minstrelsy,' I think I have seen nothing so curious."† Strange it is that this myth about the first seventeen pages being corrupted should come from the pen of

* "Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, 1888," Vol. II. p. 415.

† Ibid., p. 421.

such a good friend as Mr. Sharpe was to him all through. Yet, however it may be explained, there is no truth in it. Laing may have tried his hand at what he deemed improvements in the early proofs—but the result of the "terrible flyte" with Sharpe had no doubt opened his eyes, and matters had evidently been put right before the final printing off. At all events, we have gone over the entire MS., comparing it with the printed text, and the first seventeen pages show little more verbal changes than any other part of the text—they are mostly changes from the northern vernacular of the MS. to the southern vernacular of the printed volume. The deletions in the MS. are very considerable, but are mostly confined to the Prose Introduction and Notes.*

We may also conveniently notice here another fiction, which has grown up since Buchan's death, regarding the contents of this manuscript, as revealed in the two volumes of 1828 selected from it, and which, in the hands of recent writers, has assumed a form and extent completely inconsistent with any positive evidence we have on the matter. We refer to the conjectured (for it is no more than conjectured) influence which James Rankin, "the blind beggar," "the wight of Homer's craft," had on the matter contained in these volumes. In its latest form it is said, that "Rankin's industry as *collector*, *composer*, and *rhapsodist* (the italics are ours) furnished *much* of the material printed in the Ballads and Songs of

* See Appendix A.

the North of Scotland,"—that they are "padded with superflous details—tricked out with pinchbeck finery, and thoroughly vulgarized in style and spirit," —that "the trail of the mendicant is visible over a great part of the work," and that Rankin "seems to have been paid," for doing this, "by the yard." Now, whatever the character of the ballads may be as to their literary quality, we think Rankin's connection with them is hugely exaggerated *at this stage* of Buchan's work as a collector; for the only evidence which we have, goes to show that Rankin's importance (if he ever had any), as a *paid* contributor began *after* the above-named publication, and that his work in that line has to be looked for in other manuscripts than the one of 1827. Indeed, it is highly probable that Buchan's personal acquaintance with Rankin was a relatively recent affair when that MS. was being prepared for the printer. We can hardly think it had begun till after the publication of the "Gleanings" in 1825. One thing which made us suspect that this was so, was the fact that Buchan *then* (in the "Gleanings") reprinted Scott's version of Sir Patrick Spens, and had nothing new to add to it except four verses gleaned from a local singer after the ballad was in print, but which he added, as a find, in the notes to the volume. Now Buchan never hid his light under a bushel. If he was then in possession of Rankin's version of Sir Patrick,—that "great desideratum in the annals of Scottish song," as he grandiloquently named it,—we certainly should have heard something about it before the publication of

1828. This suspicion of ours, that Rankin's recitations to him began after 1825, and, as far as this particular MS. collection is concerned, were finished before the summer of 1827, is further confirmed by the traditions of the countryside to which Rankin belonged.* All

*James Rankin was the eldest son of Alexander Rankin in Tarwarthy, Parish of Tyrie, Aberdeenshire. He was born blind, and was baptised, 12th April, 1770. His father was appointed session officer, gravedigger, and bellman, 30th July, 1781. This office he held till his death in 1824. From his being bellman, he was popularly known as "Aul' Tow." From traditions gleaned in the district some years ago by Mr. Gavin Greig when making investigations in relation to his folk-lore studies, we cull the following notes regarding Rankin:—

Jamie did not take to the general beggar business till after his father's death, when, the home being broken up, he began to travel about. The neighbours were good to him, and a number of farmers took so much interest in him, that they arranged that he should give each of them a day every week. He got food and lodging, and entertained the inmates with his songs and gossip. His memory was very remarkable, he had a large stock of ballads and songs, but was distinctly of low intelligence. What he heard he picked up readily in a way, but lacking intelligence, he would often pick things up in a wrong way. He had a considerable stock of coarse, high-kilted songs, which the young fellows would often induce him to sing, but Jamie knew on which side his bread was buttered, and was very careful that the womenfolk should not catch him singing them. Many of his songs and ballads were so mixed up as to be a kind of jumble. He just sang what he got. Being blind, he learned everything from someone's saying or singing, and probably did not know whether it was sung from a printed copy or from memory and tradition. The idea of Jamie making up anything himself was considered absurd. There was a "printer man at Peterhead," who would keep Jamie there a week at a

these facts and traditions lead us to believe that the number of Ballads (apart from songs) in that collection is much less than present-day critics would have us put to Rankin's credit. At all events, there is no getting behind Buchan's own statement in the preface to his printed volumes. He there distinctly claims to have gathered "*the greater part of them*" himself, during the last ten or twelve years. This agrees with the record of his doings in the MS. Autobiography of 1819, already noted—and with the stated results of his gatherings up to 1825 which he mentions in the preface to the "Gleanings." Of course he says (in the 1828 preface to his "Ballads and Songs") that he is "much indebted to James Rankin, an old man, blind from his birth,"—but he also notes James Nicol of Strichen, and others, to whom he is likewise indebted. There is really nothing here which would lead one to think that Rankin was the predominant partner, and Buchan distinctly claims that position for himself. He further goes on to state what Rankin is now (1828) doing for him,—"Who is *at this moment gathering for me what can be gleaned within the circle of a large and extensive acquaintance.*"

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time. This informant never heard of Buchan, or saw Buchan's ballads, but her mother had a number of his chapbooks, and was fond of them.

These dates and traditions confirm what we suspected beforehand, that Buchan's personal acquaintance with Jamie began after the publication of the "Gleanings," that is, after he became a professional mendicant. The statement that Rankin had travelled Scotland as a mendicant for 50 years—is a huge exaggeration.

The results of this engagement, whether "paid by the yard" or otherwise, must be looked for in the *subsequent MSS.* prepared by Buchan after the great one of 1827. Buchan was not unaware of the risks he ran in accepting blindfold whatever he got from this quarter, as he records in the notes to various of the unprinted items in his manuscript, that he had been "deceived by his blind minstrel" in recording as traditional, ballads which someone must have taught Jamie direct from printed sources.*

Now, while we are far from disputing that a goodly number of Buchan's printed ballads may have "passed through low mouths, and have been worked over by low hands," we do not think it has been proven that the said mouths and hands were those of Jamie Rankin or Peter Buchan, or that the general condemnation meted out to them in these later years is at all fair or just. In fact we have never yet met with any one who has done work in the field of oral tradition, who has not found that their texts contained much which our critical friends might be pleased to describe as "having the trail of the mendicant" over them. But we suspect this is simply another and a contemptuous way of saying that popular balladry is not written by literary men,—that if you want it, you must go to the common people, on whose lips alone it lives, and of course they are unliterary. True, a select few of our popular ballads have come down to us through some generations of culture and high social standing, but who can tell what amount

* See Appendix A.

of conscious or unconscious filtering may have taken place in the process of such a descent? We have often thought that the main difference between Buchan's Ballads and those of some other collectors, resolves itself into the personal difference in mental equipment and taste between them as editors. That Buchan touched up and eked out some of the material he gathered,—as more or less all ballad editors of his time did,—we have no doubt. That these touches and ekes were bound to be wooden, or something worse, is just what one would expect from his lack of literary taste, and poetic outlook. Yet on the whole, he did not work over the defects of his records, but rather spliced them, so that one can get in Buchan's text, nearer to what really lived on the lips of his generation as traditional balladry, than in that of any other collector we know. Scott recognised this, and put emphasis on it,*—so did Allingham when he

* Mr. T. F. Henderson in his "Scottish Vernacular Literature," 1898, p. 342,—and again in a re-issue of the "Border Minstrelsy," 1902, p. 52, which he edited,—tries to explain away Scott's statement, by saying that "Scott was unaware that Buchan was assisted by 'a wight of Homer's craft'." This assertion is quite in keeping with many other statements made by that gentleman, in so far as they have no foundation in fact, and are mere groundless conjectures. The plain statement made by Buchan in his published volumes, and the repeated mention of Rankin in the notes of the MS. submitted to Scott (and cancelled along with the ballads they refer to, in selecting for publication), leaves no doubt about Scott knowing all about it. Everyone connected with balladry in Scotland—Sharpe, Scott, Laing, Jamieson, and Motherwell—knew of Buchan's connection with James Rankin. Buchan was too proud about

noted that "Peter's ballads are more truly than anyone else's real popular versions," though "rude, vulgar, and often silly." To cap these we cannot better close our notes on the original MS. collection 1816-27, and the two volumes printed from it, than in the words of Dr. Grundtvig:—"His published collections are, taken together, and compared with the contributions of any other single collector, the richest source in this branch of folk-lore out of all that up to this day have appeared before the British public. 'The Ancient Ballads and Songs' (1828) contains no less than 145 ballad texts, all of them from oral tradition, or from fly-sheets (stall copies, broadsides), and only a very few of them of doubtful antiquity. . . . . That Mr. Buchan has not published his ballads with that scrupulous accuracy, that strict and verbal adherence to the popular tradition, as might be wished, and which may now be demanded, we are ready to confess; but he certainly has done no worse in that respect than all the ballad editors of England and Scotland, with the exceptions of Mr. Ritson, Mr. Jamieson, and perhaps one or two more. His merits in the preservation of the old Scottish folk-lore are so great, that he certainly ought to be treated in a less slighting manner than has been the case." † Even in the most

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it to hide it,—and when Rankin died he asked Sharpe to tell Sir Walter "of the death of my old man"—a meaningless message, if Mr. H.'s statement was true.

† Notes and Queries, 14th July, 1855.

doubtful instance, that in which Child prints what he believed to be "an actually worthless and a manifestly —at least in part—spurious ballad;"—he did so, he says, "because of a remote possibility that it might contain relics, or be a debased representative of something genuine and better. Such was the advice of my lamented friend, Grundtvig, in more instances than those in which I have brought myself to defer to his judgment."* This is certainly, in the circumstances, saner critical judgment than one finds in the sneering, contemptuous, and unreasoning abuse of the Ebsworth-Furnivall-Henderson school of cock-sure critics.

We now return to our narrative. The Ballads were out in October, 1828, but unfortunately for Peter, the returns from subscribers were not so prompt as could have been desired. He refers to this in a letter to Sharpe, 4th Feby., 1829, and also to the finished manuscript of "Traditionary Scottish Tales" which he had gathered, and which Stevenson had held out hopes of publishing.†

He also notes that—

"Since the publication of the two vols. of Ballads, I have got several hints of old people who are possessed of more of this legendary lore, but as they live at a great distance from this place, I cannot afford to visit them at present,

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* "Child's Popular Ballads," Vol. V., p. 182.

† See Fairley's "Ancient Scottish Tales, collected by P. Buchan," Peterhead, 1908, for a detailed account of this manuscript.

and a few years may put it out of my power for ever; for though my zeal in the cause is strong, my purse is weak,—having neither post nor pension, nor any one to assist me. Nothing would be a greater pleasure to me than to be able to recover and preserve the venerable reliques of our forefathers, but, alas! I cannot do all. I cannot hold the plough and drive. Such must fall to the lot of some wealthier wight. I would that I had but a small portion of this world's gear to enable me to be more useful; but I must submit, and bear the burden of a wish without a power."

So, the poor enthusiast still dreamed,—while in the same letter he tells his friend of the financial quagmire into which his latest publication had plunged him. He speaks of having as yet, "not received one sixpence from his subscribers in London, Glasgow, Paisley, Perth, Huntly, Elgin, nor Inverness," that in looking for a prompt return from these, he had been dreadfully mistaken,—is at his wits' end, and "on his last shifts, not knowing what to do." Somehow or other this crisis, however, was got over,—and he was soon into touch again with his friend Laing, anent ballads and songs which had recently come into his possession,—and busy making clean transcripts for the inspection of his Edinburgh friends and advisers.

David Laing to P. Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

Edinr., 19 Dec., 1829.

Most Renowned "Phœnix of the North,"

My apology in not sooner having answered your letter was the want of a safe opportunity to convey to you the

Dutch Ballads which it enclosed,—and when such an opportunity (the length of Aberdeen) occurred, I most unluckily had mislaid your letter, but you may rest satisfied that the said precious originals are perfectly safe, and will be forwarded in good time to your own sure keeping.

I am glad to hear that the Ballads has done so well in the north, since I have no good tidings from this quarter of fresh demands to communicate—and with all due deference, I would recommend you not to be precipitate in printing an additional volume, and the more so if you propose to swell it out with anything like the ballads you sent, which I lost no time in putting in to Mr. Jamieson's possession, as you requested, in order that he might pronounce whether they are worth translating. His answer was that he conceived them not worth a *doit*—and certainly it would be as fitting an illustration to your work to copy the map of the Zuder Zee which embellishes the said brochure, as to print translations (if they had been made) of the common rubbish of Dutch songs.

Last night I recd. from "The Clerk" of Paisley, the last number of his magazine—in which you shine forth to some purpose. I certainly could have wished a few expressions, for your own sake, in the "Autobiography," to have been altered,—in particular respecting some of your Peterhead gentry,—and that reflection on the ungenerous treatment (however true it may be) of your Father,—as likely to be a disadvantage to you. I have read it twice—but miss some things that were in the earlier sketch,—and have sent it to Dr. Anderson, who keeps the house in this cold weather.

At present, however, I have only time further to say, that you will, the first leisure day you have, set yourself down and make out a full count and reckoning how we stand,—as I can't save you this trouble,—and it is more than full time that I should get it settled. By doing this you will confer an obligation on me,—and I pray you omit none of the things you may have sent, out of a false

delicacy in such a matter, and as being wholly a matter of business. I mean that they should be charged at Trade prices, and this you know, or if not, can ascertain as easily and correctly, as

Yours truly,
DAVID LAING.

David Laing to P. Buchan, c/o Mr. Frost, Messrs. Brown & Co., Aberdeen.

26 Dec., 1829.

My Dear Sir,

Having at length put my hands on your letter containing the Dutch Songs, I avail myself of an opportunity which offers to return you the precious originals. On looking at the letter, I see I omitted to answer one part of it, in reply to "your high-kilted muse." My advice to you would be to put her effusions into the fire, only I know you won't follow my advice, altho' as the father of six representatives of Father Adam, you ought to have some regard to the morals of those who come after you, to keep you from meddling with such things. But if you will publish them, why then your best work might be to open a correspondence with your dear friend Jock Stevenson, and get him to print what he would call "an unpublished" volume, to sell to such of his customers who are not over fastidious in having a high-seasoned dish set before them.

Yours truly,
DAVID LAING.

On the 17th April, 1830, Buchan, writing to Sharpe, says:—"I am just now making a clean copy of what Ballads and Songs I have had the good fortune of obtaining from old people since I had the pleasure of seeing you last in Edinr.; but as I have met with but little encouragement for what I have

already given to the public, I will not likely be in a hurry in putting the present to the press. However, as I must visit Edinr. soon, I will bring them along and lay them before you."

It is here that the *paid* work of Jamie Rankin first becomes visible. This collection ultimately formed part of the Manuscripts now in the British Museum. In the autumn of 1830 Buchan again visited Edinburgh for consultation and advice anent three MSS.—finished, and in process of being finished. First, the original 1827 MS., from which his two volumes had been printed, and which he now wished to sell; second,—the above-noted recent collection, which he wished to consult Scott and Sharpe about publishing; and third,—a collection of ribald and indecent songs, a kind of northern "Merry Muses," but without a spark of wit or genius in their unrelieved grossness,—by the publication of which Stevenson had held out hopes of profit to both. Laing had written to him very plainly about this last production, 26th Dec., 1829 (see p. 67), but Peter's necessities were kicking hard, and he wanted to be relieved in some way of this precious lot. He saw Scott anent the new Ballad and Song MS., but evidently only Stevenson and Sharpe knew about the prospective high-kilted volume. Scott's opinion regarding the ballads and songs submitted to him is given in a letter to Sharpe, 17th August, 1830. "I got your kind and valued note by Peter Buchan, who is an indefatigable collector. I have done what little I could to assure him, for I am a very bad hand at flapping

the ears of other people. If he would limit his publication to what is really curious in his collection, and there is a good deal, I am pretty sure a small edition might be sold. But he has unfortunately adopted the notion that every alteration is an improvement, and under that idea, proposes to publish all our old friends with new faces, and this won't do."

We have no record of what resolutions were come to by his advisers regarding these MSS., except as revealed in glimpses in subsequent letters. Thus in a letter to Sharpe, 3rd Dec., 1830, Buchan says—"Owing to one plagued thing or another, I have never been able to transcribe the —— songs alluded to in your last, but need not now care, as you say you fear their publisher, poor John S———n, is on his long journey." So the northern "Merry Muses" was, at that date, in the process of being copied out for the press.

Regarding the MS. Ballads and Songs collected after 1827, his friend Joseph Robertson had got a perusal of them, and sent the following in reply to a letter from Peter:—

Joseph Robertson, Aberdeen, to P. Buchan, Peterhead.

49 Broad St., Aberdeen,
4th Dec., 1830.

Dear Sir,

I am really ashamed of having delayed to answer your letter before now—but the truth is, I have been very busily engaged with such a multiplicity of matters as to place it quite beyond my power to attend to anything. I must

plead the same excuse for the very imperfect notice of your excellent collection of Ballads in the *Aberdeen Observer*,* stating at the same time that the crowded state of their columns ever prevented me from doing it all the justice I would—limited as my time was—have done it. I hope, however, on the appearance of your new production, "Who is a Gentleman?" to have an opportunity of making all amends that is in my power. The circulation of the *Observer* is now very considerable and very respectable, and I think a notice of such an approbatory nature—as, having read the book, I can conscientiously give—will tend in no small measure to promote your sale, more especially in *Aberdeen*, where its circulation is greater than any of the other two papers:—it also sends a good many to the north.

I am sorry I have not had time to copy out the Ballad I mentioned to you—but will do so when I have a moment's leisure. By the way, I think I have one beginning:—

> "The Elfin May sat on the brae,
> She lilted and sang the live lang day.
>
> At gloamin' a knight came riding by,
> And the ladye hailsed him courteously.
>
> O ye will come into my bower,
> And I will be your paramour."

At present I do not recollect any collection wherein it occurs,—but you will be able to tell me if it has been printed or not. If it is still unpublished, I shall send it to you along with the other one alluded to, and any others I may find on referring to my MSS.

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*This probably refers to an article (1st May, 1829), by Robertson on the Battle of the Bridge of Dee and "Bonny John Seton," where speaking of the ballad which celebrates the death of that local worthy, he says:—"A copy of the ballad will be found in Mr. Peter Buchan's Collection recently published,—a book which we would recommend to all who desire to be conversant in the legendary lore of the north."

In the Elgin and Forres Journal (not the *Elgin Courier*) of yesterday (or at least Thursday), I observed an article titled Ancient Scottish Lyrics No. II., in which is given a copy of Macpherson's Rant, which tho' there said to be printed for the first time, it strikes me strongly I have often seen *in ipsissimis verbis.* There is also a version of a song I observe in your MSS., "Widow are ye waukin' yet?" I have mentioned this that you may procure a copy of the paper and gratify your curiosity.

On going over Ritson's list of supposed lost ballads, I was astonished to observe the immense number which you have succeeded in recovering.* Surely some Fairy has guided you in your researches,—or has the Genius of Scotland (so gloriously described by Allan Ramsay in his "Vision" beginning "Bedoun the bents of Banquo Brae") hovered over you, and guided your footsteps to the remote corners where the last remnants of Scottish Song lingered on the verge of oblivion? Hoping to hear from you soon,

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

JOSEPH ROBERTSON.

Towards the end of 1830, Buchan sent copies of his various works to The Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne. This opened a correspondence

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* Ritson's "Desiderata in Scottish Song," *Scots Magazine, Jany., 1802.* Of this list of 122 items, Buchan believed that he had recovered thirty-three. Printed samples of a number of these supposed recoveries will be found in the notes contributed by Buchan to Hogg and Motherwell's edition of Burns' works, 5 Vols. Glasgow, 1834; and in Mackay's Illustrated Book of Scottish Song, London, 1854,—taken from the Buchan MSS. then in Mackay's possession, and now in the British Museum.

with John Bell, author of "Rhymes of the Northern Bards."*

John Bell to Peter Buchan, Printer, Peterhead.

High Street, Gateshead, 29 January, 1831.

Sir,

During the last month I had the pleasure of receiving a package from you, containing a copy of your Ancient Ballads, The Secret History of Macbeth, your work on Witchcraft, etc., etc., which I presented to our Antiquarian Society, as you intended. Along with this I enclose you the official return of thanks, which you would have had sooner, and your obliging letter should have been acknowledged on receipt, but my professional engagements were such as prevented me doing as I would wish. I looked through your Ancient Ballads, with most sincere pleasure, and found a number of them to complete what I had fragments of. I was much pleased with the notes, but

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*John Bell, born 7th October, 1783—died 31st October, 1864, was a bookseller, Quayside, Newcastle, and founded the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, 1812. He published many tracts, garlands, and other antiquarian reprints of local note, edited "Rhymes of the Northern Bards"—and was a great collector of out-of-the-way fugitive prints on all subjects connected with his native town. Owing to "some disarrangement in his private affairs," he gave up bookselling and became a land surveyor at Gateshead, where he devoted his leisure to antiquarian pursuits and the making a second great collection of ballads, broadsides, flytails, chapbooks, and other printed matter relating to Gateshead and Newcastle, some note of which is found in "Dibden's Northern Tour." His father was a noted Newcastle bookseller, and his brother Thomas was a great book-collector, whose library of 15,000 volumes was sold by auction at his death in 1860. See "*Welford's Men of Mark 'twixt Tyne and Tweed, Lon., 1895*," *Vol. I., p. 234.*

would have liked if they had been to greater extent, and also, I should have liked "foot-notes." You must, if you have not already done so, interleave a copy, and in the blank page insert the different readings of various lines, which will do away with the idea most completely of your having altered any of them, for altho' you make your protest in the preface, there is still some suspicion in the minds of some to whom I have shown them; and on the publication of a second edition, these various readings might be added in italics or a small type at the foot of the page. I, in 1812, published a six shillings volume of Ballads of Northumberland under the title of The Rhymes of the Northern Bards, which contained 200 Ballads and Songs relative to Tyneside. Of this I printed 500 copies, of which 480 copies were sold, mostly wholesale to a Bookseller (who has made something by them, for the last I believe he sold for twenty-five shillings), the 20 were lost or purloined from my printer's office,—and my own copy, I believe, passed into the hands of Sir Walter Scott. I have written notes to the different pieces, and have collected about 200 more unpublished Rhymes, which I threaten some day or other to send to the printers. . . . I have given and sent copies of your prospectus of "Who is a Gentleman?" to the different printers, and in a week or two, shall, I trust have more time, and will send others to the neighbouring gentry. I had intended to have noticed another part of your letter—but I am shortened for time. . . .

Yours respectfully,
JOHN BELL.

John Bell to P. Buchan, Peterhead.

High St., Gateshead, 1 Feb., 1831.

Sir,

I now catch as much time as to notice what you say in yours of 29 Nov. last respecting the Collection of Old Ballads you saw in Sir Walter Scott's, with my name on

the title-page. These, if there are five volumes of them in brown calf, with Six Volumes of Penny Histories to match, and with a folio Volume of Broadsides, about 160 in number, were collected and formed part of my Library of Ballads and Histories, which was of some extent, and which were sold in 1818, with my Library and Cabinets, when the world went wrong with me.* I never knew positively who got them, but was informed in a hearsay manner that Sir Walter Scott had them. I have often wished to regain these, and if I knew how to set about it, I would try Sir Walter,—as they were very great favourites of mine. For some time prior to 1818, Sir Walter and I corresponded, which somehow or other dropped, and has never been resumed. I have again made a collection of Ballads and Histories, rather extensive, but as yet are only a tythe of what I had in my former library. . . .

Yours respectfully,
JNO. BELL.

P. Buchan to C. K. Sharpe.

Peterhead, March 19, 1831.

My Worthy Sir,

Having lately had a few weeks of my old caterer, [James Rankin], for the last time, as he has since lost all his faculties, both mentally and bodily, I do myself the pleasure of sending you a look of his last remains. I mean

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*I have a great number of volumes of Stall Ballads collected by an odd fish of a bookseller called Bell, who lived on the Quayside at Newcastle, and went parcel mad with studying Border Antiquities, christening his children Algernon Percy Bell, Spearman Bell, and so forth. He became bankrupt, as you may suppose, and I got this very extensive collection of Ballads." *Sir W. Scott to C. K. Sharpe, Sharpe's Ballad Book, 1880, p. 140.*

the last lingering remains of our Ancient Scottish Song, in this part of the country at least. He has been faithful to his trust, but his sun is now set. In the MSS. now sent you, you will find the originals of many of Ramsay and Burns's best songs, which should be interesting to every lover of Scottish Song. I am sorry that I had not time to make a clean and perfect transcript of one of the MSS., as I am afraid you will not be able to read it, owing to the hurry on which it was written, and the indistinct manner often in which the reciter spoke.

I am extremely sorry on this occasion to have to allude to the death of my friend Mr. John Stevenson, who requested me, with your advice, to make a select collection of rare and curious pieces in the amatory way. This having been done, and some months spent in collecting and copying them for the press, they are now almost altogether useless to me, unless some private collector will buy them and allow me a trifle. I am at present hard pressed, and of late have been writing a catalogue of my private library, which I mean also to sell, if such be possible. A few months ago, I was under the very disagreeable necessity of selling by public roup, a good part of my books,—they were literally thrown away, but I could not prevent it. Such has been my fate in this world. It is indeed with reluctance that my books and I part for a moment, let alone for ever. And as I must submit, are there any of your acquaintances who would take the MS. of the Amatory Poetry, on very reasonable terms? I know not its value, but would leave the price of it entirely to your management. I would also sell the large volume of MSS. on moderate terms. The thin volume I would like to copy in a more perfect and legible manner before I offered it for sale. . . . You will also find on looking over the songs that several of them are mentioned in the Introduction to The Complaynt of Scotland, by Dr. Leyden. . . .

Yours gratefully,

PETER BUCHAN.

John Bell to P. Buchan, Peterhead.

"Good times! bad times! and all times get over!!"

High Street, Gateshead, Apl. 8, 1831.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of 30th March last I believe came to hand in its due course, but being most particularly engaged, I had not time to give you an answer, altho' my inclination strongly urged me to do so. However, I did what I trust may be worth attention, I waited upon Mr. Charnley, the principal bookseller in Newcastle, to show him that part of yours wherein you mention the present number of "Ancient Ballads and Songs." He was in town, but his man of business, to whom I read part of your letter, said you must make them an offer, and they would reply. There never was a day of gloom but it was followed by a day of sunshine. It had been a most gloomy day when you wrote yours: I should advise you, on a sunny day when there is a clear sky, to write an offer, keeping in mind, that to be *poor* and *look* poor, is the devil all over. *You will have to come low* if you deal with Mr. Charnley's man of business, but I would keep off telling him that you are touched with more than the everyday poverty of "times are hard." For you know that a man *out* of debt can wear what dress he likes, and nearly do as he likes, for no one minds him,—but he who is *in* debt must wear a better coat than he can afford, for if he has a shabby dress, those to whom he is indebted will say, "that man is poor, I can make something of him with money," — or, "that man owes me some money, and looks very poor, I must see after my own,"— which verifies my former line, of to *be* poor and *look* poor, is the devil in all. This I leave to your better judgment, to do as you think best. And, if there should a parcel come to Newcastle, I should like to have a copy of the Songs and Ballads, for the use of my young folks, provided it could be

had at not too high a price—and it could be remitted for, through Mr. Charnley, if you deal together.

In regard to your MS. collection of Ballads, try to get them subscribed for among the Trade,—you may rely on any assistance which I can give you in this part of the kingdom—and will try for individual subscribers to the work.

Take my best thanks for the notice you have taken of my hobbyhorsical pursuits. The Newspapers will add to my collection. You mention having printed Stall Ballads and 24 pp. Histories,—if I could get copies of any of those you printed, I would feel gratified, and as you complain that yours is a bad corner for collecting such, if the 8 and 24 page Ballads and Histories printed in Newcastle would be of any curiosity to you, I will collect a batch for you. Pray, does Autographs of Authors, Peers, or Members of Parliament ever fall in your way?—for one out of the Thousand and one of my hobbies is Autographs! When you write say how a conveyance of any parcel could be got backwards and forwards,—if by the means of Aberdeen vessels. Pray, is there a town seal of Peterhead? Does any of your friends collect impressions of seals? I could send them some.

Wishing you better times, and a brighter prospect increasing every year.

I remain yours,

JNO. BELL.

Unfortunately for Buchan, with the inborn characteristics peculiar to him, any aims which he may have formed in life, were seldom followed up by what one could call practical methods for their attainment. He was a simple-minded dreamer, living from day to day, without any thought of tomorrow. At times, when by all accounts it was

necessary for him to keep clear of money obligations, he would step into them for himself and others, with no calculation, no prevision as to probable results. Sufficient for him if the demands of to-day were met. All these forestallings of the future, in many forms, were coming up on him now, and his eyes were being opened to the fact that, in Peterhead at least, no "better times" nor "brighter prospects" were in store for him. In March, as noted above in a letter to Sharpe, he was desperately hard up,—had tried to sell some of his books by auction—but that was a failure. He now resolved to try if he could bring about a speedy sale of the manuscripts, lying in the hands of Sharpe, and of which, for some time, he had heard nothing. From a long letter dated 25th June to that gentleman, we extract the following:—"Some months ago I forwarded for your perusal three different Manuscripts of Ancient Scottish Ballads and Songs, etc., and at the same time anxious for your opinion of them, particularly of those which you had not previously seen. One of the collections was made at the request of the late John Stevenson, who expressed a hope that its publication would have become useful to both of us. . . . I have therefore a great wish to dispose of it to some private collector or person, if such could be found, on very reasonable terms. . . . I would also gladly dispose of the others on moderate terms, although I cannot say what these terms would be. . . . As one of the copies of the MS. is not yet fit for public appearance, I would feel obliged by your returning it, as soon as

convenient, that I may make a clean copy. . . . I am also truly sorry to inform you that my old friend and collector [James Rankin], since I sent you the last, is dead, and gone with all his store of tuneful wealth, to the bed of his fathers. . . . If my worthy and good friend, Sir Walter Scott, has seen the MSS. of the Traditionary Scottish Tales, I will feel obliged by your giving me his opinion, and at the same time, if you are writing him soon, *please inform him of the death of my old man.*" Again, 26th July, 1831, Buchan writes to Sharpe, and says:—"I am anxious that you should send me, as early as possible, one of the MSS. of Ballads and Songs, that I might make a clean copy of the same, as I am afraid no one unless myself could read the original." Once more, on 22nd August, 1831, he repeats:—"I did myself the honour of writing you some weeks ago anent returning an unfinished MS. of Ancient Ballads and Songs, which I wished to copy, and then try to sell, as my straits at present are great and manifold."

On 16th September, Sharpe, replying to these, says:—"I have tried what I could do as to the sale of your MSS., but all in vain. It is urged that the best ballads which belonged to the *large volume* are printed already, and that these like their predecessors, would fail in publication,—then there might be an hundred transcripts, and several, like those in the smaller volume, are English, and were printed long ago. For the small Vol., one cannot easily expose it to many *bidders*—but still, if you would fix a low price, I think I could get them off

to a Highland gentleman, who is fond of *savoury things*, and a sort of antiquary,—he shall take the *sour* with the *sweet*, that is, what he don't care for with what he does. If you approve of this, let me know, and then you need not be troubled to transcribe the 3rd MS., and it will suit him as well in its present state. Anyhow, don't wait for private conveyance (your last came by some channel I do not know), but write per post, and if you should wish for your MSS., tell me how they are to be sent, as I am quite in the dark as to that particular." On 8th October, Buchan replies,—"As to the 'Savoury' MS. I will be obliged if you would do me the favour as dispose of it to the Highland gentleman, at any price you think fit,—be assured I will be pleased, and the sooner it is done the better. The large MS. and the uncopied one, may be sent me per coach, care of Lewis Smith, bookseller, Aberdeen, as I intend to remove to that place with my family in a fortnight. Do you think the Advocates would buy the large MS., and allow anything like a decent price for it? I do not mean, my good Sir, that you should enquire, I will do that myself, if you approve."

Meantime, as may be surmised from the tenor of most of the letters quoted, financial and other matters in Peterhead had come to a crisis with him. It is a curious commentary, however, on all the bitter complaints of embarrassed circumstances and straitened means, which he was making to his friends at this time, to find him arranging with John Bell to become a member of the Newcastle Antiquarian

Society, and actually throwing away good money for the empty honour of becoming a "corresponding member." But it was the same with him at all times. Whatever appealed to his vanity touched his most vulnerable part. Ever eager to pose as a great man, and equally keen for honours, real or fictitious, if they had a show in them,—even when his affairs were clamant for economy and thrift,—bang went the guineas—and Peter was pleased in being thus enabled to add some additional letters to his name!

We have no indication how the printing business had been doing,—only one pamphlet from his press being known to us after 1828,—but we have notes showing that he had been dabbling in property, which may have been more profitable, or promised to be more profitable to him, than his regular calling. At all events, he now bonded part of his property,—wound up his trade connection with Peterhead, and came with his family to Aberdeen in November, 1831, taking up house in Charles Court, Upperkirkgate—then a very respectable locality. Three of his sons were at Marischal College,—but apart from any small savings he may have made in the winding up of his affairs at Peterhead, and the rents he would get in from his tenants in the Longate properties,—he evidently had no immediate prospect of an income from regular work. A letter he sent to Sharpe shortly after settling in Aberdeen, gives an indication of how things then stood with him:—

Peter Buchan to C. K. Sharpe.

Charles Court, Upperkirkgate, Aberdeen,
Nov. 13, 1831.

My Worthy and Good Sir,

I am loath, very loath indeed, to trouble you at this time, but as I did myself the pleasure of writing you from Peterhead some time ago, requesting you to send me per coach the MSS. of the Ballads last sent you—*i.e.*, those which were not regularly copied, but taken down as spoken. Again, I would feel particularly obliged by your sending them as early as possible, as at present I am doing nothing, and I think that by printing 100 or 150 copies, they would sell among the curious, as I would give an authentic life and portrait along with them of *Mussel-mou'd Charlie*. The life I got from my late lamented and good friend, Hugh Irvine, Esq. of Drum—the portrait would be copied from an original painting in Fyvie Castle. I would also give a portrait of my late collector, James Rankin, which I caused to be painted a little before his death, with a sketch of his life, etc. I hope you have been able to dispose of, ere this time,—to the Highland gentleman of whom you spoke some time ago,—the MS. of the indelicate songs, etc. If so, please let me know, and also if you have any view of any other gentleman who would purchase the largest MS. If none of these are disposed of, I would feel obliged particularly by your sending them together per coach as early as possible. For I hate to be idle, and I must try and turn them to some account myself as soon as possible, for I cannot starve, if anything better can be obtained. . . .

Yours gratefully,

P. BUCHAN.

The MSS. were duly sent on to Aberdeen. The large MS. of 1827, along with the MS. of coarse and indelicate songs (the "savoury" lot), went into the possession of Mr. Gordon of Fyvie,—the first, by purchase—the second, on a kind of approbation. The other one became the nucleus of what is now the British Museum MSS.

Peter's intention, as indicated in his letter to Sharpe, to print some matter obtained from the late laird of Drum, was put a stop to, by his heir and successor, as will be seen in the following note :—

Alexander Irvine of Drum to Peter Buchan, Charles Court, Upperkirkgate, Aberdeen.

Drum, Jany., 1832.

Dear Sir,

I send enclosed Five Pounds as subscription for your next publication,—but request you will send us only *one copy*, my daughter and I living in the same house, nor do I wish my name put in any list of subscribers for more. I think I expressed to you my unwillingness for more ballads or particulars in your publications, about the Drum family. I recollect something of seeing here a ballad (I believe a long one) on that subject, but from what I remember it is not what I would wish printed. At anyrate, I must protest against its being so, without my again reading it. I told you I believed the number of views, etc., of seats that you enquired about, was at Schivas, but as I think it very improbable that I will approve of publishing the *ballad*, I should imagine the view of the house, and account of the Drum family of no use to you. At least I request that no use be made of that account without informing me of the part you propose to insert, tho' I repeat I see no occasion

for it at all. It has been printed more than once. Should you have that number of views and descriptions from Schivas, pray send it to me before returning it. As to the account of Charles Leslie, I know not where it now is.

Yours etc.,
ALEXR. IRVINE.

He had not been long in Aberdeen before there began a series of lawsuits against him, which, with their inhibitions and arrestments, dogged his steps, and worried his life, from year to year, up to the end of 1838, when he left the town, pretty much a ruined man, and took up his abode in Glasgow, where his sons were thriving in business. As said above, he had some property in Peterhead, and when he came to Aberdeen he purchased a property on the Canal Side, which he named "Helicon Hill." In April, 1832, he obtained a valuation of the houses in Peterhead (all these were ultimately bonded during his lawsuits in Aberdeen), and subsequently a valuation of his father's property probably to show his agent his present financial position and prospects.* He advertised the

*10th April, 1832.—Valuation of sundry feu-tenements in Longate belonging to Mr. P. Buchan.

Tenement lately purchased from Cruden & Slains Friendly Society, ...	£165
Tenement purchased from Mr. Jaffray, ...	220
,, ,, from Heirs of Geo. Ferguson,	200
	£585

ROBT. COWIE, Builder,
Peterhead.

Canal Street property for sale, a year after its purchase, and finally his agent was seised in the subject, 4th April, 1834. Peter occupied it, however, up to the time he left Aberdeen for good and all. In the introduction to his "Peterhead Smugglers" and elsewhere, he launches out heavily anent the persistent injustice he was subjected to in Aberdeen—but he succeeded in leaving it with a clean sheet,—unfortunately for himself in more senses than one. Among the numerous letters of this period, there is one from Charles Neaves (afterwards Lord Neaves),—when Peter's agent appealed by petition to the Court of Session, and Charles Morton, W.S., had asked Neaves to attend to it,—which would indicate that, in that eminent counsel's opinion, Peter was getting less than justice meted out to him.

Charles Neaves to Charles Morton, W.S.

47 Queen St. [Ednr.), 1 Mar. 1833.

My dear Sir,

I shall attend to Mr. Buchan's petition, but do not wish that my assistance should cost him anything, and therefore beg to return the fee sent by you. I feel interested in seeing Mr. Buchan extricated from any injurious measures that have been taken against him, and shall be glad to give him, through you, any advice in the present matter that may be required.

Ever yours,

CHARLES NEAVES.

Feb. 23, 1833.—Valuation of feu-tenements situated in Longate, Peterhead, belonging to Peter Buchan, Pilot, consisting of two dwelling houses and gardens as valued by Robt. Cowie, Builder, this day—£280

When these troubles began, Buchan wrote to his constant friend and adviser, Mr. Gordon of Fyvie, who not only fully sympathised with him in his difficulties, and expressed a hope that he would soon get extricated from them, but also sent as a gift, such financial help as must have been a real god-send to him in his embarrassed condition.

He was no doubt casting about in all directions for work that would bring him in something. He was at this time making arrangements for contributing, out of his Rankin budget, to the notes in Hogg and Motherwell's edition of Burns, 1834-6. He projected a volume of "Ancient Scottish Stall Ballads"—and once more brought the "savoury" manuscript of songs before a possible publisher,—but again failed, as the following letters show:—

William Gordon of Fyvie to Peter Buchan.

54 Curzon St., Mayfair, London,
15 July, 1833.

Dear Sir,

In a letter which I received from your son last January, he mentioned that, in consequence of a conversation with Mr. Stevenson the Bookseller, you were anxious to publish a small volume of Curious Songs and Ballads, and that you thought there were some in your last manuscript now in my possession that would be proper for that work: being then at Fyvie Castle, I could only express my regret that I had left the manuscript here, but that I was preparing to set off for London immediately, and that I would take the first opportunity of sending it. You was at Edinburgh at that time as I understood from your son, but he would of course communicate the contents of my letter to you on your

arrival at home. I am very sorry indeed, that from accidental circumstances I have been unable sooner to comply with your wishes, but have now sent it along with some other things in a Package to Mr. Giles, who will deliver the book to you on its arrival. You know my opinion upon the consequences of your publishing and putting your name to that work too well to render it necessary for me to say more on the subject:—it certainly differs widely from Mr. Stevenson's, and that of others of very great authority, and has only this to recommend it, that it is influenced by a sincere wish for your prosperity. I hope your wife and family are all well, and have been so since I left home. Believe me, always

Yours truly,

WILLIAM GORDON.

The MS. was sent on to Thos. G. Stevenson, bookseller, Edinr. (who had succeeded his father in business), but was returned before 23rd Oct., when Buchan, acknowledging its receipt, complained,—"I am sorry you did not print a few copies of the Ballads after having sent so far for a loan of the MS. In fact I do not know what to say to Mr. Gordon, when I return it. It looks so oddly, first to ask it from him, and then return it without using it. I could not meddle with it myself here,—Aberdeen is not Edinburgh—not a copy would sell." In January, 1837, when Buchan was preparing his library for sale, Mr. Gordon wrote to him anent this MS.—"As you say that you have no wish to add the Manuscript of Songs, which you allude to in my possession, to your Catalogue, provided that I want to retain it,—I beg to say that I should wish to do so, and shall

willingly pay you any price Mr. Carfrae may put upon it." The purchase by Mr. Gordon finally removed this coarse and objectionable gathering out of the possibility of getting into print.*

The years spent in Aberdeen (1832-38), were years of great stress and trouble—an interminable struggle to keep the wolf from the door. He issued his "Peterhead Smugglers," "The Orphan Sailor," "The Succinct Survey," and "The Parallel," besides doing whatever literary hack-work came in his way. He sold among his friends, as best he could, his books, autograph letters and curiosities, and when the time came that his weary law cases were drawing to a close, he resolved to sell off his entire library, pay all his debts, and try what fortune had in store for him in Glasgow, where some of his sons were flourishing. The sale of his books turned out a failure in so far as his expectations and valuations were concerned. His MSS. were unsold As a considerable number of Ballads, and almost all the songs in his large MS. (then in the possession of Mr. Gordon of Fyvie) had *not* been printed, he wrote to that gentleman, asking him for the use of the manuscript, so that he might extract the still available unpublished matter. On 23rd March, 1838, Mr. Gordon wrote, "I shall with pleasure send you the MSS. you want, carefully packed up in a box, addressed to the care of Mr. Machray, Chemist and Druggist, Broad Street, Aberdeen, and when you have obtained everything you want, you can return them by the

* See Appendix B.

same mode of conveyance." Of the transcript then taken from the 1827 MS., and the gatherings which he had made since that date, we learn nothing further till some time after he had taken up his abode in Glasgow.

He left Aberdeen with his wife and family in July, 1838, and took up house at 155 Stockwell Street, Glasgow. In a letter to Sharpe, 25th September, anent the "Prose Tales"—he adds at end:—"I have left the North altogether, and am now settled with my family in Glasgow about two months ago,—all of them are in respectable situations, and I expect soon to be in one myself." Also in a letter to his sister, Mrs. Scott, Peterhead (30th September, 1838), who had written him on the 19th anent the death of his father, he refers to the hopeful prospects of his family in their new sphere:—"It will require a good while to get us above all our former evils, but if Providence spare us with health for a few years, we will be comfortable, for no family ever had a better appearance before them than ours at present."

The property he had purchased when in Peterhead had burdens put upon it during his late difficulties, which probably swallowed up all the rents. His father's property, to which he had fallen heir, was as yet unburdened, and he had arranged that one of his sisters should take charge of it, and divide the net income between the living members of old Mr. Buchan's family. The pittance he would get from this source, along with whatever reversion

his house in Aberdeen (yet unsold) could yield him, was all the settled income he personally could count upon. As far as present occupation for himself was concerned, he seems to have canvassed and sold his own publications, along with the Autobiography (issued in 1839), and did some literary hack-work on various newspapers and periodicals for some considerable time after his arrival in Glasgow. He had still a strong desire to get another volume of his collection of Ballads and Songs printed—but the earliest mention of the two MSS., gathered since 1828, crops up in his correspondence of 1841. Robert Chambers was then engaged on an enlarged edition of his Popular Rhymes of Scotland, and had got the use of these MSS. from Buchan, in furtherance of that object. After going over their contents he wrote as follows :—

Robert Chambers to Peter Buchan, c/o Mr. David Robertson, Bookseller, Argyle Street, Glasgow.

Edinburgh, Nov. 8, 1841.

Dear Sir,

I have ultimately resolved to restrict myself in the meantime to copying from your two manuscripts the following articles :—

The story of the Red Etin,
The song called the twelve Apostles,
The song called the Yule Days.

These are all that it appears to me proper to take for my volume of the Popular Rhymes of Scotland ; but, on some future occasion, I shall be happy to make much more extensive use of the collection of songs, and if possible, to purchase the entire property of it from you. Meanwhile, I

would hope you will be satisfied with a couple of pounds for the above story and two songs, as I have incurred other expenses to a considerable amount, for this little book, which after all is only one to please my own fancy, and not in the least likely to be profitable. I enclose a post office order for that sum in this letter, and the two manuscripts will be carefully transmitted to you, to the care of Mr. Robertson. I have taken care to notice the two collections particularly in my notes, as that may be expected to be useful so far in the event of you ever publishing them.

I hope it is scarcely necessary to mention that I have not copied one other word from your two collections besides what is specified above. I meantime remain, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

R. CHAMBERS.

These two manuscripts had a strange and eventful history before they finally came into the possession of the British Museum, where they now are. That history, with the aid of the correspondence and documents now before us, we shall briefly lay before our readers. The origin and growth of these MSS. we have already recorded. They have, time and again, been supposed to be the *original* MSS. from which the two volumes of 1828 were printed. Even the son of John Stevenson, the Edinburgh bookseller, who had some connection with that publication, asserted in *Notes and Queries*, 4th August, 1855, that they were so,—and the late Professor Child learned with astonishment that they were *not* so. When they were in Chambers's possession they seem to have contained a transcript of some of the "Prose Tales"; but these had been removed when Peter was

trying to sell the copyright of his two printed volumes, along with the Ballads and Songs, which he had subsequently gathered, now in this manuscript. At no time had he any scruple in breaking up his MSS. to meet some present demand, or satisfy some project which for the moment moved him. For instance, in 1830, after he had sent a clean copy of his "Prose Tales" to Sharpe for publication, that gentleman desired to see the rough originals as taken down from the reciters, and Buchan in sending them on, wrote,—"I hasten to send you the rough sketches, . . . I cut them out from among the Ballads which you did not want." The same cutting-out is also apparent in the appendix added to his manuscripts, 1816-27, as already noted*; and we have among his general letters and papers fragments of other manuscripts which must have been cut up for some purpose or another.

After the two MSS. were returned by Chambers, we hear nothing about them till the spring of 1842, when Buchan got into correspondence with Mr. S. C. Hall,† then editing, for Messrs. How & Parsons, a work on British Ballads. Peter brought under his

*See Appendix A.

†Author and editor, born 1800, died 1889.—Though a barrister-at-law, he never practised, but took to literature as a profession. His name is associated with the best illustrated books and magazines of his time. His wife collaborated with him in many of his publications, and for fully half a century they were among the most respected and influential personages to be met in the literary and artistic life of London. See his "Retrospect of a Long Life," 2 vols., London, 1883.

notice the manuscript collections in his possession, to which Mr. Hall replied:—

S. C. Hall to Peter Buchan.

The Rosary, Old Brompton,
April 14 [1842].

Dear Sir,

. . . . . .

You will perceive by the enclosed rough proof that I contemplate forming a *popular* work,—and do not design to go very deeply into the old ballads,—reprinting indeed chiefly those that are already familiar to the general reader, and not attempting to throw much new light on the subject, or to add materially to the existing information. If I designed to publish a book of a really important character,—which I frankly tell you I do not,—there is, I am sure, no one who could so effectually forward this object. But the closer research I must leave to those who like you have devoted lives to the subject—content with issuing in a very elegant and attractive form, an invitation to a more substantial banquet. I have, however, little doubt that I shall so stimulate the public appetite as to pave the way for such a publication as you have been so long engaged upon, and which I cannot doubt would be of high and intrinsic value.

Pending the experiment which Messrs. How & Parsons are now making, they request me to say they cannot venture on a separate work. Whether part of the MSS. referred to in your letter (and part only would be available to me) could be found of sufficient value to justify an offer for the use of them—and such information as you could supply—I cannot of course say. . . .

Yours sincly.,

S. C. Hall,
Barrister-at-Law.

Peter then offered to send up the MSS. for his "inspection and approval." To this offer Mr. Hall said (26th April, 1842),—"When I see the volumes which you say you will send, I shall be able to ascertain whether their aid might be extensive,—or how far; and I will at once communicate with you on the subject—making you the best offer I can, or returning them to you; of course, honourably bound to make no use of them until I have received your permission to do so. It is by no means improbable that the collection may be of such a nature as to change the feelings of the publishers as to taking them for publication. This point also I shall be able to determine . . . I hope there will be some *prose* account with them, as to how and where they were obtained, etc,—for this would greatly enhance their value. However, when I receive the volumes I will write you fully."

The MSS. were duly sent, but were found to be of no use for Mr. Hall's present purpose. He took a kindly interest, however, in his correspondent's desire to get his Ballads and Songs republished, and along with Mr. Craik* and John Robertson† of

*Author of "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties"—"The Pictorial History of England," 6 vols. "Spenser and his Poetry," 3 vols., and many other well-known works. Born 1798, died 1866.

†John Robertson, an Aberdonian, born 1811, died 1875. He was second cousin to Dr. Joseph Robertson, and married a daughter of Provost More. He became a prominent figure in the London journalism of the time, being Editor of the *London*

the *Westminster Review*, brought the MSS. under the notice of likely purchasers and publishers—but with little success. In reply to an enquiry from Buchan, Mr. Hall wrote :—

S. C. Hall to P. Buchan.

The Rosary, Old Brompton,
1 Oct., 1842.

Dear Sir,

I assure you I have not been indifferent to your wishes, but have heartily striven to have them consummated. The state of the book trade in London was never so bad,—and there is not a single publisher who will touch any work, that infers, or seems to infer, risk. I have mentioned your rare and curious collection to two or three, but the times are so inauspicious that I have done so with no effect,—with this view I made reference to the work in my illustrated volume.

Now I shall either retain them a while longer, or return them to you immediately—as you wish. Hoping that you will believe in my sincere desire to be of service to you.

Yours faithfully,

S. C. Hall.

Buchan probably was sceptical of this gloomy view of the London book-trade, and wrote direct to Pickering, the famous publisher. On 22nd October, 1842, he received a reply in which it is said :—"I thank you for your offer of the Scottish

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and Westminster Review, under Mill, after the property was acquired by Molesworth. See "Espinasse's Literary Recollections," 1893, and "Masson's London in the Forties," Edinburgh, 1908.

Ballads, but the state of the British trade at present is so bad, that the only prudent course to pursue is to not get into speculation; and unfortunately nothing in the publishing line is other than most doubtful."

Still unsatisfied, Peter took the opportunity in July, 1843, when going with his youngest son to a watering-place in England, of personally seeing after the disposal of the copyright of his two printed volumes along with the manuscript additions still in the hands of his friend Mr. Hall. He got introduced to William Jerdan,* editor of the "Literary Gazette," and through him obtained introductions to various magnates of the Percy Society, to Mr. Russell Smith, Mr. Tegg, and other well-known publishers. He seems to have come to some kind of an understanding with Russell Smith, but it fell through, even after some announcement of the forthcoming publication had been made public. This is seen in the following letters:—

Thomas Wright (Percy Soc.), to William Jerdan, 33 Great New Street, Fetter Lane.

[Postmark "12 Aug., 1843."]

My dear Jerdan,

I talked of Buchan's Ballads to Russell Smith, who had seen him, and is negotiating to be the London Publisher of

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*A prominent London Journalist born 1782, died 1869. He was proprietor and editor of the *London Literary Gazette*, 1817 to 1850. He was also a member of many of the learned Societies—the Geographical, Antiquarian, Percy, Camden, etc., and had great influence within the wide circle of his acquaintance. He published his "Autobiography," 4 vols., in 1852-3, and "Men I have known," 1866.

his Legendary literature of Scotland, but seems to have a different idea of what Mr. Buchan wants to do with the ballads. By what he says of them, I think they might very well be proposed to the Percy on Thursday, if you can get any exact account of them and of the sum he wants. Russell Smith says he recommended him to Pickering. I think Chappell would buy them if he were here. I will give him a note to Sir F. Madden at the British Museum, if you think he may do better there.

Yours ever,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

In consultation with his friends Robertson, Hall, and Craik, it was agreed that, should the Percy Society not buy the MSS., he (Buchan), should issue a prospectus of their projected publication, and that he should get recommendations of the intended publication from authors of eminence, and print these in the prospectuses. In a fragment of a letter from Robertson to an unknown correspondent, from which we glean the above—he goes on to ask,—"Is there no Antiquarian Society in Scotland to take the thing up? I will be happy to subscribe myself, and aid Mr. Buchan in every way I can. From what I have heard him say, Mr. T. Carlyle would, I fancy, recommend the re-publication of the published, and the publication of the unpublished, volumes of ballads."

Peter had returned home to Glasgow in July, leaving his manuscripts in Robertson's hands, with instructions to hand them over for inspection and approval to the Percy Society, if money could be got to help him in his present financial needs. He was no sooner home than he set about getting

the necessary recommendations of his manuscript collection from literary men, for prospectus purposes. Between August 8th and 15th a considerable number of such letters were returned to him from various friends, including Robert Chambers, S. C. Hall, Peter Cunningham, William Jerdan, William Duncan (of Aberdeen), etc., etc. It had also been brought to his notice, that among the prospective publications under consideration by the Committee of the Spalding Club, was a work on "The Ballads and Songs of the North-eastern Counties of Scotland." He at once wrote to the Secretary mentioning the manuscript collections he had on hand, and received the following reply :—

Dr. John Stuart to P. Buchan, 30 Renfrew St., Glasgow.

Aberdeen, 5 Dec., 1843.

Sir,

The present Committee of the Spalding Club consists of :— . . . . . .

In regard to your Ballads and Tales, I think I am sure of this, that without an opportunity of seeing them so as to form some opinion of their merit, the Committee will scarcely venture to interfere. I have seen at Fyvie a large manuscript copy of your ballads,* and I shall request Mr. Gordon to send it to me. In any communication which you may address to the Committee, you might state precisely how many of your ballads have not been included in the volumes already published by you.

I observe that Mr. Russell Smith advertises your Ballads and Tales for publication.

Your obt. servt.,

JOHN STUART.

*The Collection made 1816-27.

We find no trace of any further communication with the Spalding Club, although in each year's annual report up to 1848, a similar work is mentioned in their list of desiderata,—after that date it dropped out.

No word had come from London anent what was being done there, so Peter wrote his friend Robertson to report progress. In due course he received the following :—

John Robertson to P. Buchan, Glasgow.

8 Duke Street, St James's,
27 Dec., 1843.

My dear Sir,

In reference to your ballads, according to the memorandum I took at the time, two things were to be done.

First of all, you were to write your prospectus, and send it to Mr. Hall, Mr. Craik, or myself.

In the second place, after reading your two MSS., I was to send them to Mr. Wright or Mr. Jerdan, for the Percy Society. Mr. Jerdan having assured me he would be able to send you some money, I sent the volumes to him, and have the receipt of his clerk for them.

Thus I have done exactly what was agreed upon, and what I promised. That you should expect to see a review in the *Edinburgh* of a publication, the prospectus of which you had forgotten to write, surprised me not a little. However, my wish to serve you remains the same, only I must say, you make it impossible when you neglect to serve yourself, by doing your promised part. Mr. Craik's recollections agree with mine.

Yours,

JOHN ROBERTSON.

The manuscripts were therefore in the hands of the representatives of the Percy Society before December, 1843. Nothing further occurred until some ten months later, when Buchan wrote to Robertson (11th Oct., 1844), complaining that as yet he had received no communication from the Society anent either money or manuscripts. Robertson was indignant, and apparently got into touch with Jerdan at once, for on the same date (26th October), that Robertson replied from Edinburgh to Buchan's letter, Jerdan wrote apologizing for delay, owing to "illness and absence from town," and saying that "he had obtained from the Percy Society £10 for the privilege of printing some of Mr. Buchan's Ballads, but it was voted at the close of the season and could not be realized till the Committee meet again, when Mr. J. will have pleasure in moving for the grant." Peter, on receipt of Robertson's letter, wrote to Jerdan, who, in his reply (9th Nov., 1844), said:—"I have now to state that the first meeting of the Percy Committee for the season took place on Thursday, when it was resolved to submit your MSS. to two members for consideration, and if they recommend a selection for publication, to authorize a payment of £10. As soon as settled I will write to you, but if you are dissatisfied with this, the best arrangement I could make, I will transmit your books and papers immediately on receiving your commands."*

*This letter of Jerdan's completely settles, as untrue, the assertion made some years after in a notice of Buchan in

On the 28th Dec., 1844, Buchan received a letter from Mr. Wright (treasurer, Percy Soc.) enclosing a note from Mr. Jerdan, and a Post Office bill for £10 "for a selection to be made from your MS. volumes of Ballads to be printed by the Percy Society," and intimating that "the MSS. must be kept somewhat longer, to have the selections copied out." The volume was issued in 1845, and is entitled "Scottish Traditionary Versions of Ancient Ballads." It was edited by J. H. Dixon, and the selections were made from the MSS. by the editor and Mr. Jerdan. Buchan had no hand in this and no intimation of what was selected was ever sent to him. It gradually leaked out that the greater part of the seventeen ballads in the Percy volume had already been printed by Buchan himself in his "Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland, 1828." This was a sore matter for all concerned, as from statements in the introduction and notes the editor must have had a copy of Buchan's printed ballads before him when editing the selections made, and ought to have known that many of them

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"Hogg's Instructor," (1850), that "unknown to the author" selections were made and published from his MSS. by the Percy Society. Buchan knew and agreed to selections being made, and accepted the price offered for being allowed to do so. Certainly he was not consulted anent the particular items they selected for publication, a mistake of grave import on their part, as much of the matter chosen had already been printed in the two volumes of 1828. Buchan might have saved the Society here, if he had been consulted.

were printed there. They lay low, however, and kept quiet about it.

Towards the end of the year Buchan had been enquiring about the return of his MSS. Mr. Hall writing 14th Dec., 1845, says:—"You have not been rightly treated. I will do all I can to ascertain something about the MS., and get it returned to you. I am in no way aware what has been done on the subject, but according to your shewing you have good ground of complaint." Time passed on and still the MSS. were not returned. In March, 1847, Buchan's patience was getting quite exhausted. His MSS. had been in the hands of the Society since 1843,—and it was nearly two years since they had printed their selection from them. He had written again and again for their return with no effect,—so he now wrote to the editor, Mr. Dixon. The letter must have been written with the roughest side of his pen, and garnished with anything but parliamentary language, for Dixon in his reply, after stating that "your MSS. were not above four days in my possession, when I handed them to the printer, after which they were given to Mr. Jerdan, the only person I knew in the matter." —concludes—"if you address me in a courteous manner, I will make enquiry of Mr. Jerdan, and also of Mr. Wright, but shall not do so till you have apologised for your rudeness and most unwarrantable language." Whether an apology was sent or not we cannot say. Peter seems to have been in no mood for such things, as the further procedure will show. He immediately wrote to his friend Robertson, who

was astonished to hear that the MSS. had not been returned to him by Jerdan long ago. In his letter to Buchan (12th April, 1847), he says:—"By offering you every assistance in my power to obtain satisfaction of Mr. Jerdan, when formerly he would neither own possession of your MSS. nor heed your letters, I was only vindicating more completely my own integrity. This has been completely done. The MSS. are known to all concerned to have been honourably and faithfully lodged by me in the hands of Mr. Jerdan. I am thus clear of the transaction. . . . You now ask me to recover them for you again, . . . and you appeal to my friendly feelings,—well, I am willing to do what I can, but you must send me special authority to interfere." In a pencil note on the top of this letter Buchan has written,—"wrote to Mr. Robertson, April 26th, with authority to receive my MSS. from Jerdan or Wright, or to prosecute them for the amount of £350, as their value to me." Robertson acted with promptitude. He wrote Buchan on 29th April, detailing the steps (not legal) which he intended to take. On 27th July, Robertson again writes to him,—"I have the pleasure of informing you that Mr. Jerdan has sent to my care, a parcel for you, which I shall forward to you whenever you say how,"—and again on 11th September,—"two reasons made me hesitate to send you immediately your MSS.,—first, they are somewhat mutilated, but to what extent I cannot judge,—next, I do not know any perfectly safe conveyance. They are intrusted to the Porter of the Reform Club, who will give them to anyone authorized

to present your receipt for them." When the MSS. came into Buchan's hands there was a letter addressed to him from Jerdan enclosed, dated 19th April, 1847, in which he says :—"I have sent your MSS. addressed to Messrs. Buchan Brothers, 153 Queen Street, Glasgow, and will offer no other reply to your scurrilous and ungrateful letter of the 6th than to say that I took much trouble and wasted valuable time in my endeavours to serve you, and that I now almost rejoice in what I regretted before, viz., that I had not succeeded to a greater amount than I did accomplish for your benefit." On a visiting card accompanying the parcel to Mr. Robertson, is written, "With Mr. Jerdan's Comps. This parcel has been prepared a number of weeks, and not despatched only because Mr. Buchan's directions about sending it could not be ascertained." In a pencil note on back, Buchan writes, "Jerdan's trickery," and on the top of the letter he says, "The writer of this letter, the editor of the *London Literary Gazette*, kept possession of several vols. of valuable MS. Ballads for many years, and although written to, at least twenty times, would not deliver them up till legal steps were about to be taken for the purpose,—and this is the answer!" So ended the first act of the feud between English ballad-editors and Buchan—a feud which has been carried on with more or less virulence and injustice, by some of their successors, to the present time.

During this time (1844-45), financial affairs with Peter in Glasgow had assumed a surface appearance at least, of prosperity. His sons were thriving in

business as merchantmen, and were developing a considerable trade with the West Indies. James, the youngest son, had gone out to Antigua to take charge of the branch there, and matters seemed very prosperous and hopeful. Peter, still strong in his desire to become a propertied man and a gentleman, had in 1845 bought a portion of the lands of Broomridge near Dennyloanhead in Stirlingshire, extending to about 18 acres, with a good two-storey house and other buildings upon it. Probably the sale of the Aberdeen property had put some money into his hands at this time. The property in Peterhead, heired from his father, becoming part of the security for the bond he raised on Buchanstown (the name he gave his new possession), he was subsequently wont to speak of it as "his patrimony." One of his sons wrote disapproving of "Father having so much to do with the Bank or Land, —it has been his foible all along." He never consulted anybody, however, in his speculative plunges,— for, as one of his sons wrote in after years, "he was too much of the Great Mogul to let his family know his doings, unless he upset the coach, killed the horses, smashed the harness, and injured himself. Then he swore at large, without the wish to hurt a fly!" "Buchanstown" was one of those fatal leaps in the dark which enthusiasts sometimes make, for very soon after he was "laird" he wakened up to find himself in a network of difficulties regarding money matters. His sons did all they could to keep things square,—and Peter, having discovered that a valuable vein of coal was on his property, rejoiced in the prospective "El

Dorado" which that discovery revealed. The superior, however, claimed the mineral rights and interdicted Peter's project of mining. The dispute entered the law courts, and dragged on its weary and disastrous length till 1852, when Buchan emerged from the contest a broken and a ruined man. Not only in the outward circumstances of his life did disaster follow disaster, but within the family circle—all now grown up to man and womanhood—the toll of death was lamentable in the extreme. David died 24th July, 1846, aged 26; James, at Tobago, 28th April, 1847, aged 24; Peggy, on 8th May, 1847, aged 20; John, on 3rd April, 1850, aged 34; and Gordon, on 15th September, 1850, aged 20,—five of his family in four years. "It is long," he wrote to his brother-in-law on John's death, "since I thought my cup of bitterness was full, and that it could hold no more. Did you know the thousand and one trials and sorrows which I have had to encounter during the last few years, you would certainly think I was more than mortal to be able to bear them." Yet over all the period, and amid all his worries and bereavements, he conducted a wide correspondence, and was ever hopeful of surmounting the world of difficulties which beset him.

While yet "laird" of Buchanstown he made the acquaintance of A. B. Grosart,* then a young man

*A. B. Grosart, LL.D., was born at Stirling in 1827. He entered the service of the Western Bank, but in 1848 went to Edinburgh University with the intention of becoming a "minister of the gospel." He left the University without taking a degree, and entered the ministry in 1856. He edited editions of

employed in The Western Bank of Scotland in Glasgow, an enthusiastic collector of out-of-the-way works relating to Scottish poetry, chap-books, and other fugitive literature referring to Scotland. A lengthy correspondence ensued, and various visits to Buchanstown were made in 1847-8, as Peter was possessed of many curiosities, literary and otherwise, of great interest to young Grossart. He got the use of many valuable volumes and MSS., some of which, as financial difficulties began to close on Buchan, Grossart bought as his restricted means allowed. He was a keen bargain-maker, and often got round the soft side of Peter, one way or another. Many letters passed between them, and they frequently met one another at their homes, but the main drift of Mr. Grossart's communications are such blendings of higgling over prices of books, manuscripts, prints, etc. (which he desired to purchase from Peter), with sympathetic bewailings over his sad circumstances, and extremely flattering references to "the great work he had done for his country,—yea, the world,"—as leave an impression of "soft sawder" and business which we don't much like. At the same time we get now and again a few items of interest, and glimmerings of what was taking place at Buchanstown. In a letter dated 5th March, 1847, Mr. Grossart writes :—

Fergusson and Ramsay, issued by Fullerton, Glasgow. He subsequently edited editions of many Old Authors of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. He died 1899.

"Referring to your kind offer anent 'The Thistle,'* I will be very glad if you have any contribution on any subject connected with Scotland, her manners and customs, or Literature, for No. 1. I expect to go to press by the end of this month. Have you any interesting letters of Scott's, Hogg's,—or better still, of Burns', unpublished? Did Mr. Dobie mention that my principal object in establishing 'The Thistle' is to call forth materials for new and complete editions of the lives and works of Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson, the eminent poets of Scotland? The veriest trifle elucidating of either will be most acceptable."

Again Grossart had spent a day with him at Buchanstown towards the end of May, 1847,—and writing to him on the 29th says :—

"I am very anxious to know how you got on on the day after I had the pleasure of seeing you. I do hope the ravenous Harpies of the Law did not put their threats into execution. Let me hear from you anent this at your first convenience. God knows I would, if I could, assist you with my whole heart, but as I mentioned before, all my spare cash is absorbed in 'The Thistle' and recent purchases of Books and MSS. Since my return to Glasgow, I consulted two commercial gentlemen, *soi disant* friends of my own (in the way of business), but they shrugged up their shoulders,—'money scarce'—'interest high'—'so much ready money required'—etc., etc., till in perfect disgust I left them. Had I been able,

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*This projected publication, referred to very frequently in his letters to Buchan at this time, appears to have been dropped when the writer resolved to take to the ministry. At all events, we have been unable to trace any such publication, after very diligent enquiry in likely quarters, where it should be known, if ever issued.

I should cheerfully have contributed my mite to relieve you,—meantime, if you will tell me (that is, oblige me with a list), what Books and MSS. you intended to have sent to Messrs. Tait & Nisbet of Edinburgh, I will do all I can to find purchasers—a *much better* way surely than by a *public sale*. I wrote to Mr. Charles James Hamilton of London, my bookseller, the day you last called at the Bank, and mentioned that I knew of a Sale of *rare* MSS. and Books which would likely take place soon. I yesterday received his answer, and he says—'I thank you for writing me about the sale of a private collection of Books and MSS., and hope you will be able to favour me with an early Catalogue, when I shall certainly select, or if in Scotland (which I may be), I shall attend myself.' Please to let me know the very lowest figure you will take for the MS. Tales* and copyright of course,—and for the MS. Sermons and 'Last Words of the old Covenanters.' . . . I may add that as I am collecting everything possible for my editions of Ramsay and Fergusson, I would be glad to treat with you for the portrait of Patie Birnie the Piper. . . . Some of the tracts I have a reading of, I should buy from you—if at reasonable prices—meantime allow me to ask if you will let me have 'Dougal Graham's History of the Rebellion'—and the Tracts and Songs printed at Falkirk—dear to me on that account—further 'Old Mother Grim's Tales,' and 'Select Scots Poems,' with Brash and Reid's little penny things—that I may pick out those to complete my set. Allow me also to repeat that if you *do* think of selling the Renfrewshire Harp, by Motherwell, I will be the purchaser, if at all moderate. . . ."

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* This MS. he did not succeed in purchasing — but he evidently made a complete copy of it, which he subsequently sent to Mr. Campbell, collector of "Popular Tales of the West Highlands," whose remarks on Buchan's gatherings completely clear Peter from the suspicion of fabrication which some would-be authorities had raised anent them. See Campbell's work, vol. I., p. xxxix.

During all this time of gradual displenishing (1848-51), slowly but surely final disaster was closing in upon him. On every side bond-holders, bankers, and law-agents were clamorous and threatening for their overdue moneys. "Hungry Ruin had him in the wind," and he knew not how or where to turn for help. His old friend Robert Chambers was instrumental in obtaining for him a grant from the Royal Literary Fund as a stop-gap to meet his immediate personal necessities; and a considerable sum sent to him by his eldest son for other family purposes, "was diverted into the hands of a lot of harpy lawyers for some sudden attack got up by them."* It was only putting off the evil day, however, for a few brief months. He wrote to Lord Brougham anent his ruinous law case. In his Lordship's reply, 10th Feb., 1851, after stating "that he had no power to interfere" in the case, he goes on to say :—

"But although Ld. B. is extremely sorry for the loss which Mr. B. has sustained upon his purchase, it is quite impossible for him to give an opinion as to the process at law upon reading the statement of Mr. B. alone; and indeed as this is a matter which might possibly come before him on appeal to the House of Lords, he is bound to hold no communication with either party. He had read through a great part of Mr. B.'s statement before he was aware of the ground of his complaint, else he must, however unwillingly, have declined reading it at all. If there be

*Letter from Dr. P. Buchan to David Scott, 26th March, 1877.

anything wrong in the Scotch Law, or the practice of the Scotch Courts, of course it is open to any member of the House of Lords to consider complaints against such parts of the system, with a view to future legislation. But it is wholly impossible for them to consider individual cases, which if wrongly dealt with in these courts, are the subjects of Appeal, and when Appeal is excluded (as in some instances it is), no person can afford any redress to the individual parties."

He was still living at Buchanstown, in failing health and with almost every glimmer of hope dying out in him, when another chance of getting money out of the manuscripts recovered from Mr. Jerdan of the Percy Society opened up. This occurred through his learning that Charles Mackay of *The Illustrated London News* was in charge of a series of publications under the designation of *The National Illustrated Library*, and that one of the works of that series was to be devoted to the subject of Scottish Songs. Buchan wrote to a friend, making enquiry, and his letter was answered by Mackay, to whom the communication had been handed :—

Charles Mackay to Peter Buchan.

198 Strand, London,
25th March, 1851.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 21st addresed to Mr. Little, in reference to the *National Illustrated Library*, I have to request that you would state to me more particularly, the number, extent, and general character of the

Songs in your MS. collection—and what portion of them has not appeared in print. I intended before the receipt of your letter to devote a volume of the proposed series to the Songs of Scotland—a subject with which I am tolerably well acquainted,—and for which there exists very ample materials, and should therefore be well disposed to recommend the proprietors of the *National Illustrated Library* to purchase your Collection. It will be necessary, however, that you should not only name the price you would accept, but that you should enable me to understand by description or inspection the character of the collection you have made. I am no stranger to your book of Ancient Ballads and Songs in 2 vols. published in 1828,—a copy of which I possess, or to the services thereby rendered to Scottish literature,—and should be glad to make your present collection available to your purpose and to that of the Illustrated Library.

With regard to the other subjects mentioned in your letter, I should prefer to say nothing of them in the meantime, except this,—I shall be quite willing to hear further particulars as soon as you can find it convenient. I am more immediately interested in the songs. If you would allow me to inspect the volume it would facilitate the negotiation. Of course every care would be taken of it.

Believe me,

Yours very obtly.,

CHARLES MACKAY.

In a note at the bottom of this letter in Buchan's hand, is the following,—"March 26th sent off to Mr. Mackay, 2 large volumes of MSS. of Scottish Ballads and Songs. P. Buchan. Wrote again on 8th April." Mackay on receipt of the volumes went immediately into the matter, and replied as follows:—

Charles Mackay to P. Buchan.

198 Strand, April 7, 1851.

My dear Sir,

I have duly received your two volumes of MSS., and also the little works which you have been so obliging as to send me,—for which accept my best thanks.

I have read the MSS. of the Songs and Ballads with very great delight. They form a very interesting and valuable collection — but I fear that except to poetical antiquaries,—and to a few choice spirits, who are not shocked at the plain speaking of our ancestors,—they would appear—at least a great number of them—somewhat too free in their phraseology for the squeamish ears of these prudish moderns. I also fear that *out* of Scotland they would not have the same interest and value that they would have *in* it. At the same time they please and interest me so much that I am loath to relinquish the hope, that if not the whole, they might in part, be made available for the *National Illustrated Library*. As notes to my proposed volume of Scottish Songs—including those of Burns—some of them would be highly attractive.

I feel utterly at a loss to make you any offer for the copyright of them; but if you will state to me, in confidence, your own views and expectations on this subject—both as regards the whole or part of them—I shall be most happy to use whatever influence I may possess with the proprietors of the proposed series to induce them to enter into an arrangement with you.

Believe me, with best wishes,

Yours sincly.,

CHARLES MACKAY.

P. S.—Since writing this, I have again perused the letters which accompanied the MSS., and find that I have not replied to all the enquiries and proposals they contain—but shall reserve them for another opportunity. I should think your autobiography as a man of letters, and more especially as a searcher after and preserver of the relics of old song, accompanied by a selection from the relics both of Songs and Ballads which you have brought to light, would prove an attractive book. Have you time and inclination to undertake it? I would willingly undertake the task of Editor to it. But it would very much simplify matters with regard to the *National Illustrated Library*, on this and other points—if you could give me any idea as to the terms which would satisfy you.

C. M.

Peter still hung back from giving the desired information regarding price for MSS., or the terms on which he would allow selections to be made. He was now, however, in the hands of a shrewd business man, who in all his negotiations required specific terms, and who would not close on any indefinite understanding where money was involved. The following puts the bargaining another step forward :—

Charles Mackay to P. Buchan.

198 Strand, 11th April, 1851.

My dear Sir,

I am afraid that unless you will name a sum that you will accept for the copyright of the Songs and Ballads, there will be both difficulty and delay in coming to an agreement. The proprietors of the *Illustrated Library* do not share your and my love of Ancient Scottish Song ; and until I can place the matter before them in a tangible

business-like shape, it is no use in mentioning it to them. Can you not state what you would take for the copyright of the two published volumes (many of which I think I said in a previous letter are too indelicate for modern taste—and from which a selection only could be made), together with the 2 MS. volumes, and any other songs which you may have? I see that many in the MS. volumes are included in the published volumes. I am so loath to appear even to undervalue your labours—labours which so far from undervaluing, I highly esteem and admire,—that I dread to make even a suggestion as to the price you should ask. The following extract from a letter now before me will, however, enable you to judge at what rate the volumes of old English Ballads have been offered to the proprietors. The writer, a well-known literary antiquary, says:—"I propose to let you have 2 volumes of the Old Ballads of England,—Historical, Traditional, Legendary, and Romantic, selected from the Public and many Private Libraries of the Kingdom,—and to form a supplement to Percy's Reliques, with copious notes and a glossary, together with an essay on the Ancient Minstrels and their successors the Ballad Singers. This Essay will contain much new and curious information—and a brief examination of the dispute between Percy and Ritson. The price I ask is £30 per volume." This offer has been accepted.

As regard your Autobiograpy, which I think would be highly interesting—Mr. Bently or Mr. Colburn would be the best publishers. The profit, upon a half-crown book would not be sufficient to remunerate you—but these publishers—bringing it out for a guinea or a guinea and a half, like the Reminiscences of Mr. Gillies recently issued—would be better enabled to reward you. I think Mr. Colburn would be very likely to take it, or Mr. Murray; more especially if you could induce Mr. Lockhart to say a good word for you. It would not, as you will admit, answer the purpose of the proprietors of so cheap a series as ours; and when I suggested the matter to you I was

thinking of such publishers as those I have named. I wish it was in my power to be of more service to you—and whatever may be the result, you may be assured that no want of good-will on my part will stand in the way. . . .

I remain,
Yours very truly,
CHARLES MACKAY.

The nature of Buchan's replies to the above and the following letter, can readily be inferred from Mackay's communications :—

Charles Mackay to Peter Buchan.

198 Strand, 21st April, 1851.

My dear Sir,

I regret that I have not been in a position to reply to your letter before to-day—and still further regret that I have been unable to conclude a negotiation with the proprietors of the *National Illustrated Library* for the purchase of the copyright of the Ancient Ballads and Songs of Scotland, at least, upon such terms as might relieve you effectually in your present emergencies. They are not disposed to publish more than *one* volume of Scottish Ballads—and *one* of Songs, both to be selected from the earlier period to the present, and therefore not exclusively *ancient.* You will therefore see that under such an arrangement your copyright would only be to a certain extent useful. They have authorized me, however, to offer you the same terms as have been accepted for a similar collection of English Ballads—namely, £30 for a volume. I think, however, that possibly a Scottish publisher might be found to offer you better terms, and to purchase the whole of your copyright—and I should heartily rejoice if such an arrangement could be effected.

As regards the volume of Songs, your two volumes of MSS. would only be valuable for a few variorum readings, —and at most two or three songs,—so that the offer they make resolves itself into this,—permission for the sum of £30, to reprint as much as would suit their purpose, from the two printed, and from the two MS. Volumes. I feel that by taking a little trouble you could do better than this,—and regretting much that I am not authorized to do more—and with the most cordial good wishes, I remain,

Ever yours truly,

CHAS. MACKAY.

Charles Mackay to Peter Buchan.

Illustrated London News, 26th April, 1851.

My dear Sir,

I enclose you a printed form of assignment of copy-right in use in England, which if you will have copied, signed and witnessed, and transmitted to me, will be sufficient. There will be some difficulty still in the matter —if you require the return of the two MS. volumes,—and, as many, if not most of the Ballads in them, have been printed in your "Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland"—and are at best but duplicates of that work, it will be more satisfactory if you assign the whole copy-right without stipulating for the return of the volumes,— more especially as a considerable time may elapse before any use can be made of them.

Upon receipt of your reply in accordance with this suggestion, I will forward you the halves of Bank notes for £30, and the second halves will follow immediately on receipt of the form of agreement. With the sincerest good wishes,

Yours truly,

CHAS. MACKAY.

The form of assignment sent by Mackay, which Peter copied out and returned as directed, is still among his papers, and is a complete conveyance of all his proprietory rights in the two printed volumes and the two manuscript volumes. The purchase price was sent to him by cheque, and on the letter from Ingram & Co., in which it was enclosed, Peter has written "Wrote an answer acknowledging the receipt of the above on 3rd day of May."

In this year (1851) began the full reaping of the fool's harvest, the seed of which, since 1845, he had been sowing with a thoughtlessness and indiscretion begotten of a diseased vanity. The whole of the family letters during these years show that under the surface of a seeming prosperity, there was with him continuous "hardships" and "difficulties regarding money matters," —bills to be met, and interests overdue, ominous of what was finally to come. In some letters which he wrote to a law agent (who took an interest in trying to get him out of part of the mess he had landed in through securities granted for money advanced), he confessed that he had signed bonds which he had never read, heard read, or known the contents of. Others he had signed, but never received the money, —while bills and other obligations which he understood had been settled, were coming up against him, or lying in the banker's hands under protest for non-payment. These, with the heavy law expenses incurred in defending his supposed mineral rights in Buchanstown, present a series of transactions, as hopelessly bamboozling to one in his position, as his

dearest enemy could have wished. His life for years had been a continual protest and repudiation of what he deemed exhorbitant and fictitious money claims, the cumulative effect of the whole making disaster more complete now when it did come. Buchanstown was sold, 7th April, 1852, "within the Royal Exchange sale-rooms, Glasgow, in virtue of the powers contained in a Bond and Disposition in Security." On the 28th he wrote to his brother-in-law in Peterhead :—"I am just preparing as fast as possible to go to my long home, where I trust all my troubles will have an end. Buchanstown! my favourite spot, on which I so much doated and spent my all, has also gone the way of all the rest! On Wednesday, the 7th inst., the barbarous hammer of the auctioneer knocked it down to some worldling without a soul, who will now reap what I have sown." On the 4th May, he and his wife got into temporary lodgings at Whitevale, Glasgow, waiting the sailing of the ship which was to take them to Ireland, the home of their eldest son. They sailed on 25th July. A second grant from the Royal Literary Fund was sent to him at Drumkerrin, Co. Leitrim, in December, 1853. In his letters at this time the absorbing topics are the loss of his "lands and minerals," the "falsehood, fraud and forgery," which his enemies had resorted to, to accomplish his ruin,—the value of his contributions to literature,—and the worth to society of the inventions of his earlier years. He wrote at great length, and in the most extraordinary style of bombast and self-appraisement, to many in high places, legal, diplomatic, and literary,—the Lord-

Advocate, the Solicitor-General, the Home Secretary, Sir James Clark, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, etc., etc., —pleading for help to redress his grievances and repair his wrongs. It seems to us, while perusing these, that the experiences he had lately gone through, alike in the calamities of family life, and the disasters of his business transactions, had unhinged his mind, never remarkable for stamina, grasp, or resource. The panegyrics he now wrote regarding the works he had put into print, the intimacy he had enjoyed with, and the favours received from, the greatest and best men of his time, mixed up with pleadings for present help, to our mind point distinctly to that mental weakness which hugs its delusions. Such letters were never written by a normally sane man, and pity for the erst-while poor enthusiast for balladry makes us eager to ring down the curtain.

In September 1854, he, accompanied by his son, crossed over from Ireland to London,—on what business we have been unable to ascertain. Some of his relatives in the north thought it was to bring out a new edition, with an extra volume added, of his Ballads and Songs. At the time when he disposed of his copyright and MSS. to Ingram & Co. of the *Illustrated London News*, he wrote to a friend in Peterhead to whom he was under obligations:—"I expect soon to be in possession of as much as repay you, as I have sold the copyright of some of my works to a London publisher, and am requested by him to write an interesting account of my own life to accompany them." This, however, was a proposal of

Buchan's own at the time of the sale—a proposal, which some months later, Mackay informed him Ingram & Co. could not *then* think of entertaining. Whether he had hopes that such a proposal might *now* be accepted, we cannot tell. He died suddenly while in London on the 19th September. "I parted from him the night before in health," wrote his son to an aunt in Peterhead, "and next day he fell asleep in my arms." He was buried in Norwood Cemetery. The entry in the Sexton's Register is to the effect that "Peter Buchan died at the age of 60 years [he was in his 64th year], and was buried in Norwood Cemetery on Thursday, Sep. 21st, at 12 o'clock, from his residence in Cranmer Road, Waterloo Road." The lair is numbered 4138, Square 112, 5th tier from wall, and is unmarked. There is no record of any other interment in the grave.

We have now given, in brief outline, and from contemporary documents, an account of Peter Buchan and his doings in the domain of traditional ballad and song collecting. We have expressed very freely the opinions we have formed regarding him as a man, pointed out some of the mistaken criticisms and assertions which have been made anent the worth of the work he has done, and given our reasons for considering these exaggerated or baseless. To the gibes, sneers, sniffs, and other forms of literary mud-throwing which in recent years have too often accompanied the mere mention of his name, let those who care reply.*

*See, passim, the editorial notes to The Bagford Ballads, issued by The Ballad Society, 1878; also, to the Roxburghe Ballads, vols. 7 and 8; and The Centenary Burns, vol. 3.

Such things had better be left alone, as they are forms of criticism which belong (we hope exclusively) to the new editorial billingsgate, brought to perfection by certain English and Anglo-Scottish writers, whose main aim is to say smart things and make the groundlings stare.

The same year that Buchan died, Charles Mackay issued, in the *National Illustrated Library* series, a volume of Scottish Songs in which he used some of the gatherings in the two manuscript volumes which Peter had sold to the publishers, Ingram & Co. Subsequently the manuscrips were gifted by them to Mackay, in whose possession they were when Professor Child began to collect material for his final great work on English and Scottish balladry. The main task he had set himself was, to get behind the printed texts of collectors, and see the manuscript sources from which they were supposed to have printed. Accordingly Mr. Furnivall went to Mackay, on behalf of Professor Child, to see the Buchan MSS. in his possession. He persuaded Mackay to offer them for sale to the British Museum, which was ultimately done, and they were bought.* It was then found, upon examination, that with the exception of a very few pieces, none of the ballads printed by Buchan in 1828 were there. This discovery added to the general suspicions, mooted in "Notes and Queries" and elsewhere by various correspondents after Buchan's death, that much of the contents of his two printed volumes had been manufactured and palmed upon him. The

*Letter by Furnivall in "The Academy," Oct. 15, 1904.

existence of the original manuscript, dated 1827, representing the collections of Buchan from 1816 to that date, was not then known; indeed Child's work was far on towards completion before he heard of its existence. This fact he regretted much, as Buchan's was the only text he had failed to get behind. He did not live to see this manuscript added to the Harvard University Library.

It is on this manuscript and the two volumes printed from it in 1828, that Buchan's reputation as a collector in the field of Scottish traditional ballad lore rests; and these cannot be ignored, however inadequately they may be appreciated by those who criticise the work he has done. Whether the ballads and songs which he found on the lips of the people were decadent, crude and uncouth in form and expression, or otherwise, is of little moment to the student of folk-song, though it may be important in the eyes of the mere literary man. "All traditional things are moulded and changed by individual handling." "Change and variation belong to the very essence of tradition." These are commonplace aphorisms in the field of folk-lore. No account of the traditionary process can be complete which takes no cognisance of how in the progress of time there is a tendency in versions to vary and often to degenerate. The only real question anent Buchan's ballads is, were they actually from the singers of a definite time and place? With certain qualifications we believe they were. In so far as genuineness and authenticity are concerned, one must recognise that Peter's printed texts in a great

many cases represent the result of a collation of records individually incomplete. If we are to believe himself, this collation was his own work, for in his published Autobiography (p. 9), he speaks of his ballad publication as never having compensated him "for the time, trouble, and expense of *creating it out of a chaos of rude materials*." These "rude materials" were no doubt the various incomplete records he had obtained from different singers. It is a well known fact that in the traditional field no two singers give identical versions of any ballad,—they always vary in a greater or less degree,—breaks and gaps occurring here and there in most records. He collated, as we say, these various "real popular versions," helping the deficiencies of one from the text of another. In this way gaps were bridged and approaches made towards completeness. It was where he attempted filling up gaps, touching up defective lines and halting rhymes from his own resources, that his weakness becomes visible. Adjustments of this kind were, however, the recognised work of a ballad editor at that time. The unfortunate thing for Buchan was that he was not a Percy or a Scott, so that Peter's splicings and ekes are not likely to deceive anybody fairly well versed in traditional ballad lore. The "rude materials" are all authentic in the full sense of that word, so that in a general way one may well enough speak of his printed texts as "real popular versions." If all collated ballad texts are to be rejected as "unauthentic," there will be a big sweep into the waste-paper bin, as almost all our collectors admit to mending one defective version by help from another.

We may here add that in the course of examining the contents of this manuscript and comparing the printed volumes with it, we only came across three instances where the differences were such as might suggest something akin to cooking or manufacture. In the *printed* text of "Rose the Red and White Lillie" (vol. I., p. 69), the six stanzas 48 to 53 are not in the manuscript. In "Clerk Sandy" (vol. I., p. 165), stanzas 30 to end (an "eke") are printed from a separate slip inserted into the manuscript. The ballad seems quite complete without it. "Childe Norrice," a fragmentary affair of some 42 lines, has alterations, deletions, and substitutions. It has not been printed. Its opening lines are much the same as a version in the Motherwell MSS. from a Banffshire source, and these in Buchan's fragment are in all likelihood traditional. When this piece was re-transcribed into the Museum MSS. the 42 lines becomes 78 lines, but still a fragment. Child rightly describes it "of recent make."

Prior* in the introduction, and frequently in the notes to his work on Danish Ballads, more than suspects Buchan (who gathered many items of a possibly Danish origin in Aberdeenshire) of having somehow gotten the story and then written the ballad himself. This suspicion, repeated again and again throughout his volumes, is now of no moment, since the publication of Child's great work has shown how wide-spread over the whole of Europe are the stories or incidents

*Prior's Ancient Danish Ballads, 3 vols., London, 1860. Vol. I., p. xv.

with which popular balladry deals. Besides, some of the ballads to which Prior refers were communicated to Buchan by James Nicol of Strichen,* who was in all probability as ignorant of Danish or any of the northern languages and literatures as Peter undoubtedly was himself.†

Buchan's MSS., now in the British Museum, are of a different character and value from that of 1827. Their contents consist of transcripts from his earlier

*James Nicol was a feuar in the village of Strichen. He was originally a cooper by trade, but latterly had a small shop and sold groceries and also books, pamphlets, ballads, and such like. In early life he went to America and lived there for some three years. He held very advanced opinions in politics and religion, and when in business he had an interview with Tom Paine, and he confessed to be one of his disciples. He was the author of a number of pamphlets. He died Nov. 4, 1840, in Strichen and left his means to endow a school for the education of poor children. It was known as Nicol's School, and was carried on as a separate school for poor children until 1889, when it was abolished and the endowment was conjoined with the Gordon Endowments. Nicol was a bit of a character, but was well read and much in advance of his time in many respects. He had received only an ordinary education.

†It is curious (and really unintelligible) what Prior says, when he drops Buchan out in the discussion of Jamieson's views regarding the migration of Danish ballads into Scotland:—"There are sufficient [authorities?] however to make Jamieson's opinion plausible without having recourse to Buchan's work, which, it is but justice to him to say, *was published after his death.*" After whose death? Jamieson not only reported to Stevenson (*ante*, p. 50) on Buchan's MS., but was a subscriber for the *published volumes of 1828*, and *died in 1844*. Buchan *died in 1854*. What does the writer mean?

MS. of such items as had not been printed in 1828,—a considerable number of ballads taken from broadsheets and chapbooks,—with a few which may have been traditional. Most of the songs are traditional, and though not of that worth which Peter in his enthusiastic way believed them to be, are yet genuine remains of north country lilts still sung. Mr. Greig, who never saw these manuscripts, has taken down within recent years, from singers in Buchan's district, quite a number of them. Some are mere snippets of old world improvisations to popular airs (mostly dance tunes), and are of no importance beyond being the vehicles through which these airs have been carried down through the generations. Old persons have many of these in memory yet, and some of them form choruses and refrains to more modern songs. Other items seem to have been taken from manuscript sources, such as those by Skinner, Alexr. Watson, and others.* The bulk of the traditional songs were derived from the singing of James Rankin; and Buchan, after the MSS. were returned from the Percy Society, affixed an engraved portrait of him to the first volume, which we have reproduced in connection with Appendix "C." This portrait (as stated to the writer by Peter's nephew, the late David Scott of Peterhead), was taken from a painting done by A. Chisholm when Peter was in Peterhead.

The great want in all Buchan's manuscript collections is, a statement in each case of where, from whom,

*See Appendix C.

and when, the various traditional items were gathered. He was certainly behind the present age in that respect —as general statements (such as he gives) leave the door open for suspicious natures who have no knowledge otherwise, to raise doubts as to the genuineness of the texts given. On the other hand, this fault was the failing of his time, for which he was neither more nor less responsible than his contemporaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

[1814].

1. The | Recreation | Of | *Leisure Hours;* | Being | Original Songs And Verses, | *Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect.* | double rule | By P. Buchan, Jun. Peterhead. | double rule | 12 lines of verse, Temple of Fame. | double rule | *Edinburgh:* | Printed for and Sold by the Author, A. Clark, and W. | Mortimer, Peterhead, and all the principal | Booksellers in Scotland. | rule | Oliver & Boyd, Printers. | rule | *Price Two Shillings.*

12mo in sixes, Half title, engraved front. Title, verso blank, preface [3]-4, contents [5]-7, [8] blank, text [9]-132 and [131]-138. Engraved tail-pieces, preface dated Peterhead, March, 1814. Issued in boards with back label. Copy is uncut and measures $5\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$.

Cuts by Bewick. Described in *The Bewick Collector*, No. 4276 Suppt.

1816.

2. A | Candid Statement | of | The Opinions Held | by | Calvinists and Arminians, | on | The Doctrines of Election, | The Influences of the Spirit, | And Final Perseverance. | double rule | By A. Leslie, Peterhead, | Author of Strictures on Party Spirit, &c, &c, &c. | double rule | four lines verse | two lines Scripture quotation | rule | Peterhead: | Printed by P. Buchan. | Sold By Messrs. Clark & Sangster, and Mr. Mortimer, | Peterhead; and Mr. Clark, Aberdeen. | rule | 1816.

24 pp. Copy is uncut and measures $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$.

**Compiled for this work by Mr. J. A. Fairley, Edinburgh. The Copies described are in the possession of the Compiler, unless otherwise noted.*

1816.

3. Letter | Addressed To *A. Leslie*, Peterhead, | Author Of The | Candid Statement, | Containing | The *Opinions Held* By The *Calvinists* | And *Arminians*, | On | The Doctrines Of Election, | The Influence Of The Spirit, | And Final Perseverance. | rule | three lines, 2 Pet. iii. 9. | rule | Peterhead : | Printed By P. Buchan ; | For Clark & Sangster, and W. Mortimer, Booksellers, | Peterhead ; and Geo. Clark, Aberdeen. | rule | 1816.

28 pp. Title, verso blank. Copy is uncut and measures $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{3}{8}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

1816.

4. Letter | Addressed To T. M. | *Author of a Letter Addressed* | To A. Leslie, | On | The Doctrine Of Eternal Election, | The Extent Of The Death Of Christ, | And Final Perseverance In Grace, | *Proved from Scripture ;* | rule | By *A Friend* to the | Doctrine Of Eternal Predestination. | rule | "Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast | heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus." | 2 Tim. i., 18. | rule | Peterhead: | Printed By P. Buchan; | Sold By Clark & Sangster, and W. Mortimer, Booksellers, | Peterhead. | rule | 1816.

A in six. B in eight. 28 pp. Copy is uncut and measures $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{7}{8}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

1816.

5. Rules | and | Regulations | of the | Marischall Lodge | of | Gardeners | of | Peterhead. | ornamental rule | as approved of and confirmed, by his Majesty's | Justices of the peace, at an adjourned | meeting of the Quarter Sessions, | held at Aberdeen, the | fifth day of February | M,DCCC,XVI | Peterhead : | Printed by P. Buchan. | rule | 1816.

No Sig: 19 pp. verso blank, uncut, blue ppr. covérs, $8\frac{2}{8}'' \times 5''$.

Mrs. Scott's Copy.

1817.

6. *Review* | Of Pamphlets, | (Occasioned by the Candid Statement) | *In a Letter* | Addressed to Mr. Thomas Moir: | rule | *By* A. Leslie. | rule | six lines verse | rule | Peterhead: | *From the Auchmedden-Press.* | rule | 1817.

18 pp. Title, verso blank. At foot of p. 18:—P. Buchan, Printer. Copy is uncut and measures $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

A copy also in the possession of the compiler.

1817.

7. The | Selector.—No. I. Friday, June 6, 1817, consecutive to No. XIII., Friday, Nov. 21, 1817.

12mo. 13 Nos. each 8pp. paged [1] to 104, several errors in pagination. Copy measures $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. A periodical containing original pieces in prose and verse. The last number intimates that, "No more numbers of the Selector will be issued till the new arrangement takes place," but there never was a "new arrangement."

1817.

8. The | Life *and* History | Of | *Doctor Adam Donald* | Prophet of Bethelnie | representation of a house | Peterhead: | Printed By P. Buchan. | rule | 1817.

12 pp. wood-cut portrait. Title printed from a wood block, cut so that the lettering etc., appears white upon a black background. Copy measures $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4''$.

Dr. Adam Donald was taken from *The Bee* (for Wednesday 21st December, 1791), an Edinburgh weekly publication from which Buchan also obtained his portrait of the "Doctor."

N. D.

9. The | Life and Character | Of | Doctor Adam Donald, | *Prophet of Bethelnie.* | rule | Well known in Aberdeenshire for his | Eccentricities. | rule | Peterhead: | *Printed at the Auchmedden Press,* | By P. Buchan.

12 pp. Portrait of Doctor Adam Donald as frontispiece, cut on recto. Title, verso blank. Copy measures $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4''$.

N. D.

10. Another issue same as above but with imprint altered as follows:—Peterhead: | Printed for A. Keith, Aberdeen, | By P. Buchan. | rule | Price One Penny.

1818.

11. The | Artless Muse; | Or, | *Attempts In Verse*, | On different Subjects. | double rule | By Joseph Anderson. | double rule | Peterhead: | *Printed at the Auchmedden Press*, | By P. Buchan. | rule | 1818.

72 pp. Title, verso blank; preface, verso blank; contents 2 pp. *Errata*, verso blank; poems pp. [5]-72. Copy measures $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{5}{8}''$.

Error in pagination 52 repeated should be 53.

1818.

12. *No. 2.—Price One Penny.* | double rule | The Caledonian; | *Or*, | Donald's Letters To His | *Country-Folk* | On Borough Politics, Political Economy, &c. &c. | double rule | *Aberdeen, Friday, April* 24, 1818. | double rule | *Continued from our last.*

8 pp. [9]-16. Title heading occupies upper half of front page. Text follows and ends on page 16 at foot of which is:—*Continued in our next.* | rule | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan, and sold by G. Mackay,* | *Northstreet, Aberdeen.*

Copy is unopened and measures $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{7}{8}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

Three numbers printed.

1819.

13. Annals | Of | Peterhead, | From Its | Foundation to the present time: | Including An Account Of | *The Rise, Progress,*

Improvements, | *Shipping, Manufactures, Commerce, Trade*, | *Wells, Baths, &c. Of The Town.* | Also, | *A Sketch* | Of The | Character Of The Inhabitants, | Their Civil And Ecclesiastical State. | An Excursion To The Bullers Of Buchan, Slains | Castle, &c. With Their Description, The | Scenery Of The Country Round, | Remarks On Dr. Johnson's | Tour To The Hebrides | &c. | *Biographical notices of men of learning and genius; among* | *whom are George Earl Marischal, founder of* | *Peterhead, and Marischal College, Aberdeen.* | With A Number Of Curious Articles | Hitherto Unpublished. | double rule | With Plates, Engraved by the Author. | double rule | By P. Buchan, | Author of the Recreation of Leisure Hours, &c. | rule | Peterhead: | Printed at the Auchmedden-press, by the Author. | Sold By Him, The Booksellers In Peterhead, | And The Principal Booksellers In Scotland. | rule | 1819.

In fours, Advt. *Keith Family* 2 pp. Half title, verso blank. Title, verso blank. Dedication, verso blank. Preface [v]-viii. Contents [ix]-xii. *Annals* [9]-144. 5 engraved plates, one folding. Copy is in original printed boards uncut and measures $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$.

Published at Four Shillings and Sixpence.

14. The same, on Fine Paper, with all the engravings folding. Only a very few printed. Copy is bound in red scored morocco, inscribed to George Chalmers, Esq. [of Caledonia] and measures $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{5}{8}''$.

1819.

15. A | *Biographical Sketch* | Of The | Life and Character | Of | *Mr. Alexander Leslie*, | Peterhead: | With a specimen of his Poetry. | (*From the Annals of Peterhead, just published.*) | rule | By P. Buchan. | cut, hand holding quill | Peterhead: | Printed for and Sold by | Messrs. Clark & Sangster. | rule | 1819. | *Price three-pence.*

8 pp. in plain blue covers. Copy measures $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{16}''$.

1819.

16. Don: | *A Poem.* | *With Large Notes,* | Giving An Account Of The | Ancient Families, Castles, & Curio- | sities, On Don And Its Branches: | Also, | A Full Account Of The Battles Of | *Harlaw, Brechen, Alford, &c.* | double rule | By | *Charles Dawson,* | Schoolmaster Of Kemny. | double rule | A New Edition, Corrected And Enlarged. | Peterhead: | Printed By P. Buchan, | And sold by the Booksellers. | rule | 1819. | (Price Sixpence.)

In sixes. 56 pp. Title, verso blank. Text [3]-56. Copy is uncut and measures $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$.

1819.

17. Scarce | *Ancient Ballads;* | Selected | From Various Publications. | vignette | Peterhead: | Printed By P. Buchan. | rule | 1819.

A to D in sixes. 48 pp. Title, verso blank. Contents [3], verso blank. *Ballads* [5]-48. Copy measures $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4''$.

1819.

18. The | *Artists' Vade Mecum;* | Or, | Bank Of Practical Receipts. | Containing | *Upwards of Eighty of the most approved meth-* | *ods in Painting, Staining Woods,* | *Varnishing, Dyeing, Gilding,* | *&c. &c. &c.* | Selected from the works of the best Artists. | rule | Peterhead: | Printed By P. Buchan. | rule | 1819.

A to D in sixes. 48 pp. Title. Contents [2-4] *Painting* [5]-12. *Receipts* [13]-48. In plain blue covers. Copy is uncut and measures $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$.

1820.

19. An | Historical and Authentic | Account Of The | Ancient and Noble Family | Of | *Keith,* | Earls Marichal Of Scotland; | *From their origin in Germany, down to* 1778: |

including a narrative of the Military | *Atchievements of James Francis Edward* | *Keith, Field-Marshal in Prussia, &c.* | Also, | A Full And Circumstantial Account Of All | The | Attainted Scottish Noblemen, | Who lost their titles and estates in 1715 and 1745, | for their adherence to the Stuart cause. | double rule | By P. Buchan, φιλόπατρις, | Author of the Recreation of Leisure Hours, | Annals of Peterhead, &c. | double rule | Greek quotation from Xen. with Latin translation, two lines | rule | Peterhead : | Printed by P. Buchan ; | For Clark & Sangster, Peterhead ; | G. Clark, Aberdeen ; A Constable & Co. | and W. Laing, Edinburgh ; and | G. & W. B. Whittaker, London. | rule | 1820.

In sixes. 156 pp. Engd. Front. Title, verso blank. Dedication [iii]-iv. Preface [v]-viii. Contents [ix]-xii. Text [13]-156. 1 page books lately pub : by P. Buchan. 3 blank pages. Bound in coloured printed boards. Copy is a very large one, uncut, measures $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{3}{8}''$, and has P. Buchan's book label pasted inside front board.

1822.

20. An | Act | *For Supplying* | The | Town Of Peterhead, | In The | County of Aberdeen, | With Water ; | And | For better Lighting, Paving, and other- | wise improving the Streets, Roads, | and Avenues within and leading | to and from the said | *Town.* | rule. | Peterhead : | Printed for | *The Commissioners of Police,* | By P. Buchan. | rule | 1822.

In fours. 80 pp. Title within ornamental border, verso blank, Text [3]-80. In brown coloured covers on front page of which the title is repeated. Copy is uncut and measures $9'' \times 5\frac{5}{8}''$.

1822.

21. Strictures | On The | *Right Rev. Bishop Torry's* | *Pastoral Address* | To The | *Members Of The Episcopal Chapel,* | Peterhead. | rule | By A Friend To Sabbath Schools.

| rule | another rule | Peterhead: | Printed By P. Buchan; | *Sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country.* | rule | 1822. | (*Price Two-Pence.*)

12 pp. Title, verso blank. Copy measures $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

The Compiler possesses the original proof copy with corrections in ink. Mr. Walker's copy is in the corrected form in which the pamphlet was published.

1823.

22. The | Bookbinder's | Complete Instructor | In All The Branches Of Binding; | Particularly | Marbling, Staining, And Gilding | The | *Covers And Edges of Books:* | *With all the late improvements and discoveries in* | That useful Art. | rule | By | A Practical Bookbinder. | rule | Peterhead: | *P. Buchan, Printer, And Publisher.* | rule | 1823.

A to E in fours. 40 pp. Title, verso blank. Dedication, verso blank. *Instructor* [5]-40. In stiff covers sheep back. label on front cover:—The | *Bookbinder's* | Complete Instructor. | Price 1s. 6d. Copy measures $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

1823.

23. Witchcraft | Detected & Prevented; | Or, The | School Of Black Art | Newly Opened. | rule | The greater part of this highly curious little volume | is selected from the ancient and scarce works of | the principal writers on these subjects, particularly | from Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, the Book | which supplied Shakespeare with his Witch | and Wizard Lore. | It will also contain a variety of the most approved | Charms in Magic; Receipts in Medicine, Natural | Philosophy and Chemistry, &c. | rule | By A Member Of the School Of Black Art, Italy | rule | four lines of verse | rule | With descriptive Plates, Printed from Stone. | Peterhead: | P. Buchan, Printer and Publisher | 1823.

In fours. Title, verso blank. Preface [1-2]. Contents [3-8]. Text [9]-112. 6 rudely executed illustrations, four on stone and two on wood.

Copy belongs to Prof. Ferguson, Glasgow Univ.

1823.

24. Charity To The Poor Briefly Character- | ized And Recommended. | rule | A | Sermon, | Preached In The Church Of Peterhead, | On The Evening Of May 11, 1823. | In Behalf Of The | Peterhead Female Society, | And Published | *For The Benefit Of That* | Institution. | rule | By The | Rev. James Anderson, A. M. | Minister Of St. Fergus. | rule | Peterhead: | *Printed for the Female Society, by P. Buchan.* | rule | 1823.

In fours. 24 pp. Title, verso blank. Dedication, verso blank. Text [5]-24. Copy is cut and measures $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5''$.

1824.

25. Witchcraft | Detected & Prevented; | Or, The | School of Black Art | Newly Opened. | rule | The greater part of this highly curious little volume | is selected from the ancient and scarce works of | the principal writers on these subjects, particularly | from Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, the Book | which supplied Shakespeare with his Witch | and Wizard Lore. | It also contains a variety of the most approved | *Charms* in *Magic; Receipts* in *Medicine, Natural* | *Philosophy*, and *Chemistry, &c.* | rule | *By A Member Of The School of Black Art, Italy.* | rule | four lines of verse | rule | Second Edition. | rule | Peterhead: | P. Buchan, Printer And Publisher. | rule | 1824.

In fours. iv+112 pp. Frontispiece. Title, verso blank. Preface [iii]-iv. Contents [5-10]. Text [9]-112. One of the illus- of 1823 edit. *Driving Away Ghosts That Haunt A House* forms the frontispiece. Copy is in original boards, uncut, and measures $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{7}{8}''$.

1824.

26. Scriptural & Philosophical | Arguments; | Or, | *Cogent Proofs From Reason & Revelation* | That | Brutes have Souls; | And That, | Their Souls Are Immortal: | With | *A Dedicatory Epistle To Mr. Charles Forbes Buchan,* | *Wherein is given the character of a* | Just And An Unjust Lawyer; | A Quack Doctor *and* Real Doctor *of* Medicine; | A Heterodox *and an* Orthodox Preacher, | &c. | rule | By Peter Buchan. | rule | Two lines from Rom, viii., 21. | rule | Peterhead: | Printed For And By P. Buchan; | Sold By Him, The Principal Booksellers In London, | Edinburgh, Aberdeen, | &c. | rule | 1824.

In sixes. xxxii + 120 pp. Advt., verso blank. Title, verso blank. Contents [iii]-[iv]. Proem [v]-vi. Ded. Epistle [vii]-xxxii. Advt., verso blank. Text [13]-120. In boards, title repeated on front board with price added. Copy is uncut and measures $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. Four cuts in text.

Published at Two Shillings and Sixpence.

1824.

27. A | Vocabulary, | English And Latin; | For The | Use of Schools. | rule | By | *Thomas Watt, A.M.* | rule | A New Edition; | *Corrected And Improved.* | rule | Peterhead: | *Printed by P. Buchan,* | For G. Clark, Aberdeen; And Alex. Sangster, | Peterhead. | rule | 1824.

In sixes. 76 pp. Title, verso blank. Advertisement [3]. Explanations [4]. *Vocabulary* [5]-75. Advt. of A. Sangster [76]. Copy measures $7'' \times 4''$.

1825.

28. Gleanings | Of | *Scotch, English, And Irish,* | Scarce | Old Ballads, | Chiefly | Tragical and Historical; | Many of them connected with the localities of | Aberdeenshire, and to be found in no | other collection extant. | With | Explanatory Notes,

| By | Peter Buchan. | rule | "On the lear'd days of Gawn Dunkell; | Our country then a tale cou'd tell, | Europe had nane mair snack and snell | At verse or prose; | Our kings, were poets too themsell, | Bauld and jocose." | rule | Peterhead: | *Printed by P. Buchan, and Sold by* | Lewis Smith, Aberdeen; A. Sangster, and G. | Mudie, Peterhead; A. & J. Wilson, Banff; G. | Maitland, Elgin; W. & D. Laing, and J. | Dick & Co. Edinburgh; & W. Sutherland, | London. | 1825.

In fours. 216 pp. Title, verso blank. Dedication [iii]. Preface [iv]-[vi]. Contents [vii]-[viii]. Text [9]-216. Copy is in original yellow printed boards, uncut and measures $6\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{7}{8}''$. The compiler has seen a copy with the date 1827 on the front board instead of 1825.

1825.

29. *Attested Copy.* | rule | Rules | And | Regulations | Of The | *Peterhead Savings Bank.* | rule | Peterhead: | *Printed By P. Buchan.* | rule | 1825.

16 pp. Title, verso blank. Rules etc., begin on p.[3] and end on p. 14. last leaf blank. Copy measures $8\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{8}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

1826.

30. Witchcraft | *Detected and Prevented;* | . . . . . | Third Edition. | rule | Peterhead: | Sold by P. Buchan, Printer And Publisher; | and W. Sutherland, 28, City Terrace, London. | rule | 1826. | Price Three Shillings.

Collation same as Second Edition of 1824, but title has "Third" in place of "Second" Edition, and altered imprint. The frontispiece has "Spirits" substituted for "Ghosts."

1826.

31. Poems | *In the Scottish Dialect,* | By Thomas Urquhart, | Old Deer. | rule | Peterhead: | *Printed by P. Buchan, and Sold by the Author at* | *Old Deer.* | rule | 1826. | (Price Sixpence.)

A to E in fours. 40 pp. Title, verso blank. Preface pp. [3-4]. To The Reader pp. 5-6. *Poems* pp. 7-40. Copy is uncut and measures $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

1828.

32. The | Secret History | Of | Macbeth, | King of Scotland: | With | *Interesting Memoirs* | Of The | Ancient Thanes. | rule | (Originally from a very old MS.) | rule | Addressed To The | Right Hon. The Earl Of Fife, | As | Thane Of Fife, | By P. Buchan, Cor. Mem. S.A.S. | rule | "*Here you may see the Tyrant.*" | rule | Peterhead: | From the Press of the Editor. | rule | 1828.

In fours. 152 pp. Title verso blank. Dedication [iii]-vii. Preface [viii]. Text [9]-150. Advt., verso blank. Bound in boards with back label. Copy is unopened and measures $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{5}{8}''$.

33. The same, Large Paper. See T. G. Stevenson's catalogue bound in at end of *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Scoticæ* published in 1848.

1828.

34. Ancient | Ballads and Songs | Of The | North Of Scotland, | *Hitherto Unpublished.* | rule | With | Explanatory Notes, | By Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member Of The Society Of Antiquaries | Of Scotland. | rule | quotation two lines | rule | Vol. I. | Edinburgh: | Printed For | W. & D. Laing, And J. Stevenson; | A. Brown & Co. Aberdeen; J. Wylie, And Robertson | And Atkinson, Glasgow; D. Morison & Co. | Perth; And J. Darling, London. | rule | MDCCCXXVIII. | [Entered in Stationers Hall.]

2 vols. in eights. Vol. I. Portrait. Title, verso blank. Dedication [iii]-iv. Introduction [v]-xviii. Contents [xix]-xx. Text [1]-319 p. [320] blank.

Vol. II. Title, verso blank. Contents [iii]-iv. Text [1]-346. List of Subscribers [347]-352. Bound in cloth, paper label on back. Copy is uncut and measures $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5''$.

Published at One Guinea. Printed Prospectus issued in advance.

35. The same. Thick Paper, limited to two copies. One was in Motherwell's possession and one realised £11 at the sale of David Laing's library in 1879.

1828.

36. The | Duty, Pleasure, And Reward | Of | Educating Religiously | The | Rising Generation. | rule | A | Sermon. | By The | Right Rev. Patrick Torry. | rule | Peterhead : | *Printed by P. Buchan.* | rule | 1828.

A to [E1] in fours. 34 pp. Title, on verso is pasted a narrow slip of paper bearing :—The Reader is requested to excuse various errors of | the Press ; particularly in the division of Syllables. *Sermon* begins on p. [3] and ends on p. 33. Last page blank. Blue paper covers on front page of which the title is repeated. Copy measures $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{8}''$.

[1829].

37. Critical Remarks, | On Buchan's Ancient Ballads And Songs Of The North Of | Scotland. | rule | (*From the Paisley Magazine.*) | rule.

28 pp. Above title occupies top of front page. Text follows and ends on p. 28. Copy described measures $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$. Only 60 copies printed, *vide* letter by Motherwell dated "19th Dec., 1829."

Mr. Walker's Copy.

38. Remarks on Buchan's Ballads.
Lot 1519 of Sale Catalogue of Motherwell's Library.

39. Criticism of Buchan's Songs of the North.
Lot 1521 of Sale Catalogue of Motherwell's Library.

Nos. 38, 37 & 39 in three consecutive lots in the Motherwell Sale Catalogue.

1830.

40. Whale Fishery: | rule | Report | Of The | *Trial By Jury*, | John Hutchison, Esquire, And Others, | Against | The Dundee Union Whale Fishing Company. | rule | (*Reported by*) | *Alexander Peterkin*, | *Solicitor*, *Edinburgh*. | rule | Peterhead: | Printed And Published By P. Buchan. | rule | 1830.

A to E1 in fours. 34 pp. Title, verso has List of Counsel. Report [3]-34. Copy measures $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$.

1833.

41. A | Succinct Survey | Of The Famous | City Of Aberdeen, | With Its | Situation, Description, Antiquity, Fidelity, | And Loyalty To Their Soveraignes; | As Also | The Gracious Rewards Conferred Thereon, And The | Signall Evidences Of Honour Put Upon | Many Chief Magistrats thereof. | With | A Catalogue | Of them since the City was burn'd for Loyalty, about | the year 1330. | *Together with the Epigrams of Arthur Johnstoun*, *Doctor* | *of Medicin, upon the said City, and severall other of* | *the principall Royall Burghs in this ancient King-* | *dom of Scotland, Translated into English by I. B.* | rule | By A Zealous Lover Of Bon-Accord, | ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΟΥΣ. | rule | Aberdeen: | Printed By John Forbes, 1685; Reprinted For | Peter Buchan, 1833.

In sixes. 92 pp. Title, verso contains printer's name. Contents [iii]-iv. Dedication [5]-6. Advt. two unnumbered pp. Epis: Ded: [5]-8. To The Reader [9]-12. Text [13]-92. Engraved view of Aberdeen as frontispiece, apparently originally intended for some other publication but inserted in a number of copies of Buchan's edition of *Succinct Survey*. In orig: printed boards. Copy measures $5\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$.

1834.

42. The | Peterhead Smugglers | Of The | Last Century; | Or, | William And Annie. | An | Original Melo-Drama, | In Three Acts. | Also, | Poems And Songs, | With | Biographical

Notices, | By Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member Of the Society Of Antiquaries Of | Scotland; Of The Northern Institution For The | Promotion Of Science And Literature; And | Of The Antiquarian Society Of | Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, &c. | rule | stanza from *Old Song*. | rule | *Edinburgh:* | Thomas Stevenson, 87, Princes' Street; And John Wilson, | 19, Great May's Buildings, St. Martin's Lane, London. | rule | MDCCCXXXIV.

In sixes. Portrait. Title, verso blank. Dramatis Personæ [iii]. Contents [iv]. Dedication [v]-xxii. Advt. [1]-10. Text [5]-96. Boards, lettered in gilt along cloth back. Copy is inscribed to Archibald McLellan Esq., and measures $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$.

1834.

43. The | Orphan Sailor: | A Tragic Tale | Of Love, Of Pity, And Of Woe! | Dedicated | To | The Young And The Fair Ladies Of Aberdeen. | By | Peter Buchan, Cor. Mem. S.A.S. | &c. &c. &c. | rule | five lines verse | rule | Aberdeen: | Sold By | Alexander Mitchell, 20, Upperkirkgate, | And | Thomas Stevenson, 87, Princes Street, Edinburgh. | rule | 1834.

24 pp. Title, verso has name of printer. Text [3]-24. In coloured printed covers. Copy measures $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$.

44. The | Orphan Sailor: | . . . . . | Second Edition | . . . . . | Edinburgh: | Sold by | Thomas Stevenson, 87, Princes Street. | rule | 1834.

Same collation as No. 43 and same title with addition of "Second Edition" and alteration in imprint.

1835.

45. The Parallel; | Or, | Whigs And Tories Contrasted | In The Administration Of The | British Constitution. | Dedicated To The | Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P. | By Peter Buchan. | "Honour them to whom honour is due." | Published For The Author | By | William Blackwood And Sons, Edinburgh. | MDCCCXXXV.

In eights. 68 pp. Title, verso has name of printers. Dedication [3]. Contents [4]. *Parallel* [5]-66. 1 blank leaf. Copy is bound in wooden boards covered with green watered silk and is inscribed to William Gordon Esq. of Fyvie. Measures $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$.

1836.

46. Advice | To | The Electors | Of | Great Britain And Ireland, | In The Choice Of Their | Representatives | In Parliament. | A Sermon. | Dedicated To The Noblemen And Gentlemen | Of | The Carlton Club. | By | Peter Buchan, Cor. Mem. S.A.S. | &c. &c. &c. | rule | "*This is not the cause of faction, or of party, or of any* | *individual, but the common interest of every man in* | *Britain.*" | rule | Published For The Author. | rule | 1836.

32 pp. Title within double border, verso:—Aberdeen: | Printed By J. Davidson And Co. | 68 Broad Street. Dedication [iii]-v. Blank vi. *A Sermon* [7]-32. In green printed covers, g.e. Copy measures $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$.

Published at Sixpence.

1837.

47. Catalogue | Of The | Private Library | Of | Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland; of the | Northern Institution for the Promotion of Science and Literature; | and the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; | Editor of "The Ancient Ballads and Songs of the | North of Scotland," &c. &c. | Consisting Of | Upwards Of Two Thousand Volumes | Of | Rare And Curious Books, | And | Unpublished Manuscripts. | Chiefly | Old Scottish Poetry, Ballads, And Songs, | Scottish History, Antiquities, | And General Literature, &c. &c. | Which Will Be Sold, By Auction, | In | Wm. Smith & Co.'s Sale-Rooms, | 2, Broad Street, Aberdeen, | *On Thursday the 13th April*, 1837, *and following Even-* | *ings, commencing at 6 o'clock.* | rule | four lines verse | rule | Catalogues (price 3d.) to be had of Mr. Macswein,

Auctioneer, Aber- | deen; Messrs. W. & D. Laing, Booksellers, Edinburgh; and Messrs. J. | Smith & Son, Booksellers, Glasgow. | rule | Aberdeen: | Printed By D. Chalmers And Co. | Adelphi Court, Union Street. | rule | 1837.

In sixes. 44 pp. Title, verso Conditions of Sale. *Catalogue* [3]-43. p, 44 blank. Copy is inscribed to Mr. Alexander Laing [the poet] and measures $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{7}{8}''$.

Printed prospectus issued in advance.

1839.

48. An | Interesting And Faithful Narrative | Of The | Wanderings | Of | Prince Charles Stuart | And | Miss Flora Macdonald, | After The Battle Of Culloden. | From The Original Manuscript, By Alex. Macdonald, | (One Of Their Attendants.) | With a Memoir Of His Life, And Several | Jacobite Poems and Songs. | rule | Published By Francis Orr & Sons, | And David Robertson, Glasgow. | Edinburgh,—William Tait. | London,—W. S. Orr & Co. | 1839.

In sixes. viii+72 pp. Port. of Charlie Leslie as frontispiece. Title, verso has name of printer. Dedication, verso blank. Introductory Remarks [iii]-viii. Text [11]-72. 2 engraved plates wanting in some copies. The book was published partly by subscription. Coloured printed covers, price One Shilling. Copy measures $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

Printed Subscription lists were issued in advance, also a prospectus on a large sheet.

49. The same, Fine Paper, bound in cloth gilt edges, price Two Shillings. Copy measures $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$.

1839.

50. Autobiographical Sketch | Of | The Life | Of | Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member Of The Scottish Antiquarian Society, Etc. Etc. | In A Letter Addressed To | The Right Hon. The Earl Of Buchan. | Extracted From A Review Of | "The

Ancient Ballads And Songs Of The North Of Scotland," | In The 'Paisley Magazine' For December, 1828.* | Edited By The Late | William Motherwell, Esq., | Of The Glasgow Courier. | Glasgow: | W. G. Blackie And Co., Printers, Villafield. | MDCCCXXXIX.

24 pp. Title. Text [2]-24. In buff printed covers. Copy measures $7\frac{1}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$.

[1839].

51. Testimonials | In Favour Of | Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member Of The Scottish Antiquarian Society, Etc. Etc.

8 pp. Title, verso blank. Dated at foot of p. 8:—Glasgow, Feb. 1839. Copy measures $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

In another form this appears at the end of the "Autobiography."

1840.

52. The | Eglinton Tournament, | And | Gentleman Unmasked; | In A Conversation | Between The Shades Of King James V. Of Scotland, | And Sir David Lindsay Of The Mount, | Lyon King-At-Arms In The Elysian Fields. | By | Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member Of The Antiquarian Society Of Scotland; | The Northern Institution For The Promotion Of Science And | Literature; And The Antiquarian Society Of Newcastle-Upon- | Tyne, &c. &c. &c. | rule | 5 lines verse | rule | London: Simpkin, Marshall, And Co.; | Edinburgh: William Tait; | Dublin: Geo. Young; | Glasgow: John Smith And Son, John M'Leod, | And David Robertson. | rule | 1840.

Sigs. irregular. xxxii + 290 pp. Engraved title, verso blank. Title, verso has name of printers. Contents [iii]-ix. Dedication [x]-xvi. Preface [xxii]-xxxii. Text [1]-290. Advt. 1 leaf unpaged. Engraved frontispiece. Copy is inscribed to W. P. Dundas Esq., is uncut and measures $6\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$.

Printed Prospectus issued in advance.

*This date should be "1829."

1840.

53. Britain's Boast, | Her Glory And Her Shame; | Or, | A Mirror For All Ranks, | In Which Are Distinctly Seen The Origin And History Of | Kings, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergymen, Men | Of Learning And Genius, Lawyers, Physicians, | Merchants, Manufacturers, Mechanics, | Soldiers, Sailors, &c. | With The True Characteristics Of Each:—The Necessity | And Advantages Of Education, Commerce, And Trade. | Also, | An Account Of The Chivalry Of The Ancients, | The Eglinton Tournament, | And Gentleman Unmasked. | In A Conversation Between The Shades Of A King And His | Preceptor, A Knight, In the Elysian Fields. | By Peter Buchan, Cor. Mem. S. A. S. | *&c. &c. &c.* | rule | "Although this volume for a Crown be sold, | 'Tis worth in value a Sov'reign in gold." | rule | To Be Had Of The Principal Booksellers In | London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, | And Dublin. | rule | MDCCCXL.

Sigs. irregular. Engraved title, verso blank. Title, verso blank. Proem [iii]-iv. Contents [iii]-ix, and so on as in No. 52. This is the *Eglinton Tournament* with a new title, and Proem inserted. Copy is inscribed to Charles Neaves, Esq: (afterwards Lord Neaves) is bound in red velvet, g. e., and measures $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4''$.

Printed Prospectus issued in advance.

N. D. [1840].

54. Glasgow Cathedral and Necropolis, By Peter Buchan, Cor. Mem. S. A. S., &c. &c. &c. Glasgow. James Mitchell & Co., 43 Argyll Arcade.

18mo. Title engraved, with vignette, dedication, text [1]-48. 2 engraved steel plates.

1844.

55. The Parallel; | Or, Principles Of | The British Constitution | Exemplified, For The Benefit Of Every Legislator, And British | Subject, Whether Tory, Whig, Or Radical; | Also,

| A Defence Of Church Establishments, | Magna Charta 1., Habeas Corpus Act 2., | The Bill Of Rights 3., Articles Of The Scottish Union 4., | And Act For Securing The Protestant And Presbyterian | Religion, Etc. | By Peter Buchan, Cor. Mem. S. A. S. | *&c. &c. &c.* | rule | London: | George Bell, Fleet Street. | Edinburgh:—Myles Macphail. | Glasgow:—John Smith & Son. | Paisley:—Neilson & Murray. | 1844.

In eights. 68 pp. Title within double rule border, verso blank. Dedication [3]. Contents [4]. Text [5]-66. Blank leaf. Copy is bound in cloth and inscribed to John W. McKenzie, Esq., W. S. Edinburgh. Measures $8\frac{5}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{8}''$.

A vertical line divides 1 and 3 from 2 and 4.

The following note by Buchan appears on a printed prospectus of this edition in the possession of the compiler:—"When Sir Robt. Peel changed his Political Principles, I changed my Dedication, as above. The "Times" was at this period a Conservative Newspaper. P. B."

1845.

56. Scottish | Traditional Versions Of | Ancient Ballads. | Edited By | James Henry Dixon. | rule | five lines from Longfellow | rule | London. | Printed For The Percy Society, | By T. Richards, 100, St. Martin's Lane. | rule | M.DCCC.XLV.

In eights. 28 pp. of matter relating to the Percy Society. Half title, verso blank. Title, verso blank. Council of Society, verso blank. Dedication, verso blank. Preface [ix]-xvi. Ballads [1]-81. [82] blank. Notes [83]-108. Rox. binding. Copy is uncut and measures $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 5''$.

Ballads selected from Buchan's MSS.

1853.

57. Address | To The | Workmen, &c., Engaged | At The | Creevelea Iron And Coal Works, | May 24th, 1853, | By

Peter Buchan, Cor. Mem. S. A. S. | &c. &c. &c. | rule | Carrick-On-Shannon: | Printed By John Nevin Trimble, "Leitrim Journal" Office. | rule | 1853.

12 pp. Title, verso blank. Address begins on p. [1] and ends on p. 8, last leaf blank. Yellow paper covers on front page of which the title is repeated within a double rule border. On top of title in the handwriting of Buchan is:—To Sandy Scott: Phd.—From the Author.

Copy measures $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$.

Mr. Walker's Copy.

1875.

58. Ancient | Ballads And Songs | Of The | North Of Scotland, | *Hitherto Unpublished.* | With Explanatory Notes, | By | Peter Buchan, | Corresponding Member Of The Society Of Antiquaries Of | Scotland. | quotation two lines | Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1828. | Vol. I. | Edinburgh: William Paterson. | 1875.

2 vols. Vol. I. Half title, verso blank. Portrait, Title, verso blank. Dedication [v]-vi. Introduction [vii]-xx. Contents [xix]-xx. Text [1]-315 verso blank.

Vol. II. Half title, verso blank. Title, verso blank. Contents [v]-vii verso blank. Text [1] 337 verso blank. Copy uncut measures $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$.

59. The same, Large and Fine Paper, Copy uncut measures $8\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5''$.

1891.

60. Gleanings | Of | Scarce Old Ballads | With | Explanatory Notes | By | Peter Buchan | Aberdeen: D. Wyllie & Son | Peterhead: D Scott | 1891.

iv+216 pp. Half title, verso has publisher's device; title, verso has printer's name, unpaged. Facsimile title of 1825

N. D.

70. *Two Original Songs,* | By T. M. | *Viz.* | The Banks of Ugie. | *and* | Ben Stout. | To which is added, | *The New Ramilies,* | cut—the moon | *Peterhead: Printed By P. Buchan.*
8 pp.

N. D.

71. *Six Beautiful Songs.* | double rule | *Gloomy Winters now awa,* | *Gloomy Winters come again* | *The land o' the leal,* | *For lack of Gold,* | Loudons bonny woods | and braes, | The Lass o' Peaties Mill, | cut—hand holding a quill | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*
8 pp.

N. D.

72. Dear Meal ; | To which are added, | *The New-made Shilling,* | and | A Curious Scots Medley | *Calder Fair.* | cut—a donkey | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*
8 pp.

N. D.

73. *The Taxes ;* | To which is added, | *The Excellent Old Song of* | *The Geeenwich Lady.* | cut—female holding a tray in front of her | *Peterhead:* | *Printed by P. Buchan.*
8 pp.

N. D.

74. *The* | Roving | Boy ; | *or, New Deer Prodigal.* | To which are addad, | *Gloomy Winter.* | For Lack of Gold | cut—bust of man in eastern dress | Peterhead : Printed by P. Buchan.
8 pp.

N. D.

75. The Beautiful Old Song Of | *The* | Babes | In The Wood. | Written by Rob. Yarrington, 1601. | cut—bird on twig | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*
8 pp.

N. D.

76. *The* | *Wanton Wife* | of | Bath. | *A Curious old Ballad*, | From an ancient Copy in Black-print. | cut—female, staff in right hand basket in left | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

N. D.

77. *The Sorrowful Husband*, | To which are added, | The New Way Of | *Auld Langsyne*, | And | Tarry oh the Grinder. | cut—man with stick in left hand five other sticks under right arm | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

N. D.

78. Captain | Glen's | Unhappy Voyage to | New Barbary; | To Which is added, the excellent Song of | *The Tempest.* | cut—ship on sea | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

N. D.

79. *Two Excellent Old Songs.* | rule | The | Blae-Berries; | *and* | Johnny Cope. | cut—bird on branch of tree | *Peterhead: Printed By P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

N. D.

80. The | *Bellfast Mountains.* | To which are added, | *The Second of August;* | and, the Funny Old Song of, | *The Parsons fat Wedder*, | with | *Let me in this ae Night.* | cut—same as No. 65. | *Peterhead. Printed by P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

N. D.

81. *Three Excellent*, | And at present very fashionable | *Songs*, | *Viz.* | *Birniebouzle*, | (As sung by Mr. Wright in the

Theatre | Peterhead with great applause.) | *Bauldy Fraser*, | and the celebrated | *Dr. Monro.* | cut—bust of a female in a frame | Peterhead, Printed and sold by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

N. D.

82. An excellent Old | Scots Song; | Entitled | Gill Morice. | cut—same as No. 74. | *Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

Brit. Mus. Copy.

N. D.

83. The | *Duke of Gordon's* | *Three Daughters.* | To which is added, | Mrs. Burns Lament for Burns. | cut—arms with motto, Bon Accord | Peterhead: Printed by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

Brit. Mus. Copy.

N. D.

84. The | Middlesex Flora; | To which are added, | Niel Gow's Farewell to | Whisky; | The Golden Glove, | and the Answer. | cut—a building on shore, boats at sea | Peterhead: | Printed by P. Buchan, and sold by A. Keith, | Aberdeen.

8 pp.

George Gray Collection.

N. D.

85. Symon and Janet; | To which is added, | The Old Song of | The | Sheffield Prentice. | cut—shepherd with crook, to his left a buxom female | Peterhead, Printed and Sold by P. Buchan.

8 pp. *George Gray Collection.*

N. D.

86. The Longing Maid; | To which are added, | Birnie-bouzle, | William and Nancy, | and | Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch. | cut—a goat | Peterhead: Printed & Sold by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

George Gray Collection.

N. D.

87. A | Pennyworth | of | Wit, | or | The Deluded Merchant. | and his Harlot. | A Curious Old Song. | cut—ship on sea | Peterhead : Printed by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

George Gray Collection.

N. D.

88. There Excellent Songs, | Birniebouzle, | Robie and Jeanie. | To which is added, | The New Way Of | Auld Langsyne. | cut—same as No. 77 | Peterhead : Printed by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

George Gray Collection.

N. D.

89. A New Song | On the Times | To which are added, | Young Donald o' Dundee | broad serpentine line | Peterhead : | Printed by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

George Gray Collection.

N. D.

90. The | Buchanshire Tragedy ; | or | Sir James the Ross. | rule | An Excellent Old Ballad. | cut—two highlanders one beating a drum the other playing the pipes | Peterhead : Printed & sold by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

George Gray Collection.

N. D.

91. *Three Excellent Songs.* | The | *Sailor's Caution* | *The Happy Clown*, | and the | *Belfast Shoemaker.* | cut—same as No. 77. | *Peterhead :* | *Printed and Sold wholesale by P. Buchan.*

8 pp.

N. D.

92. *Four Excellent Songs,* | Viz. | *Genius of Gardnery,* | *Poor Jack,* | *Rose of Glenrino,* | and | *The Banks and Braes of Bonny Doon.* | cut—ship on sea | Peterhead: Printed and sold by P. Buchan.

8 pp.

N. D.

93. The | *Canty Carly,* | Or The | Raveled Bridal | Of | Auchronie. | cut—same as No. 77 | Peterhead: | *Printed by P. Buchan,* | For A. Keith, and W. Gordon, | Aberdeen. | rule | *Price One Penny.*

12. pp

N. D.

94. The | Curious and Entertaining | History Of | Jean of Bogmoor; | *Containing* | *The Disasters of several Lovers; also, a brief Ac-* | *count of one who was successful at last. The* | *whole being calculated for the amusement of* | *cheerful Youth, and even for the Instruction of* | *blate Wooers; namely, to shew the jolly of being* | *too eager to please the fair sex, or too slack to* | *handle in moderation. The Fifth Edition, care* | *fully revised, and diligently compared with the* | *original Manuscript, &c. &c. &c.* | ornament | Peterhead: | Printed for and Sold by J. Cairns. | by P. Buchan.

12 pp.

Brit. Mus. Copy.

N. D.

95. Another issue same as above but with the imprint altered as follows:—Peterhead: | Printed for and Sold by A. Keith, Aberdeen, | by P. Buchan.

Aberdeen Univ. Lib. Copy.

1824.

96. A Dispute | Between The | Gardeners and the Tailors | For The | Antiquity of their Trades. | This curious poetical Dialogue, where | each trade claims the origin, was | written about a hundred years ago, | and now reprinted at the sincere re- | quest of many of the Brethren. | cut—same as No. 77 | Peterhead: | Printed by P. Buchan, and Sold by | Alex. Keith & Wm. Gordon, Aberdeen. | 1824. | Price One Penny.;
12 pp.
George Gray Collection.

1826.

97. Susie Pye; | Or, | *Young Beichan's Garland.* | An Excellent Old Ballad. | To which is added, | *Jem of Aberdeen.* | cut—a thistle and a bird with a leaf in its bill | Peterhead: | Printed by P. Buchan, and Sold by Alex. Keith | Long Acre, Aberdeen,—1826.
8 pp. *Brit. Mus. Copy.*

NOTE.—In the case of the George Gray Chap Books, words printed in the italic form have not been reproduced in italics as the originals were not available.

MANUSCRIPTS BY P. BUCHAN.

Autobiography, 1819; and Songs 1820-24, la. fol., 176 pp.
Mr. Walker's Collection.

Ancient Unpublished National Ballads of Scotland, 1827, 1 vol. la. fol., 1112 pp. *Harvard University Library, U.S.A.*

Ballads of Scotland together with a few of those of England, 2 vols. 237+281 pp. [1828 and after]. *Brit. Mus.*

Secret Songs of Silence, 1832 fol., 181 pp.
Harvard University Library, U.S.A.

Annals of Peterhead, ...	*Public Libary, Peterhead.*
Family of Keith, ...	*Do.*
Peterhead Smugglers, ...	*Do.*
Wanderings of Prince Charlie, ...	*Do.*
Ancient Scottish Tales, ...	*Compiler.*

PUBLICATIONS

Containing Articles of Interest on or by P. Buchan.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, No. xxxiv. January, 1820. Vol. vi.

Edinburgh Monthly Review, No. xxiii. November, 1820.

The Paisley Magazine, No. 13. December, 1. 1829. Vol. I.

The New Scots Magazine, No. ix. July, 31, 1829. Vol. II.

The Aberdeen Magazine, No. x. October, 1831, Vol. I.

Grant's London Journal. July, 11, 1840.

Hogg's Instructor, Edinburgh, 1850, Vol. IV., New Series, pp. 180-183.

Anderson's Scottish Nation, Vol. III., p. 693.

Walker's Bards of Bon-Accord, 1887, p. 375.

Dictionary of National Biography.

Publications of The Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. IV., Part 1. October, 1900.

Transactions of Buchan Field Club, Vol. VII. p. [123]. Vol. IX., p. [128].

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON, AND COLLATION OF, BUCHAN'S ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF BALLADS 1816-27

NOW IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

WITH A DETAILED LIST OF THOSE PIECES WHICH WERE UNPUBLISHED IN 1828, AND WHICH WERE MOSTLY RE-TRANSCRIBED IN 1838, INTO THE MSS. NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

I

It is a very large folio of 1112 pages. After the TITLE PAGE (as given *ante* p. 48), we have:—

CONTENTS.—pp. 1 to 10.

At the foot of p. 3, in a small neat hand is written "40 selected—will probably extend to 208 pp., making 13 sheets." All the ballads selected and printed in 1828 are marked "P." in the Contents, and there is added (in a different hand) "P. Child Ether from a MS. apart."

"PREFACE—INTRODUCTORY"—pp. 1 to 17.

This title is deleted, and over it is written the word "Introduction." On p. 7 four lines are deleted,—and "upwards of a dozen years" written at foot of page. The whole of pp. 8 and 9,—part of pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 17 are deleted.

DEDICATION.—1 p. (as in printed volume).

TEXTS.—pp. 1 to 824.

These consist of 220 Ballads and Songs,—83 of which were not printed in the 2 vols. of 1828.

APPENDIX :—

Consisting of seven ballads, evidently taken out of another manuscript, as they are paged 737 to 777 and are not included in the Table of Contents. They are described as "Curious and Valuable Scottish and English Ballads, rarely to be met with." They are apparently all from prints.

NOTES—pp. 1 to 220.

A great many of these are deleted and others very freely cut down and altered,—especially those to Sir P. Spens,—Young Akin,—John o' Hazelgreen,—Earl of Mar's Daughter,—Rose the Red and White Lilie,—The Twa Magicians,—The Death of Lord Warriston (with note in Laing's hand "the rest on the loose sheet will follow the above"),—Leesome Brand,—Bondsey and Maisry,—The Twa Knights,—The Courteous Knight,—Young Prince James,—Maid and Fairy,—Young Hunting,—The Twa Brothers,—Young Bondwell,—Gights Lady,—Clerk Sandy,—Broom o' the Cowdenknowes,—James Herries, etc. These alterations and deletions are in different hands, but mostly by Laing and Sharpe, the 220 pages of manuscript notes being compressed into some 70 pp. in the printed volumes.

On comparing the text of the printed Ballads with the MS., the first thing that we find is that Sharpe's statement to Scott of how Laing "had altered word and verse," and "corrupted the first 17 pages" is not correct. The differences, indeed, between the manuscript and printed text throughout, consist mainly in substituting Southern or English Spelling for words written by Buchan in the northern form; such as:—"faer" printed "where"; meen—moon; sheen—

shoon; abeen—aboon; fan—when; dane—done; beets—boots; healy—hooly; bick—bitch; fa—wha; and such like. The first 17 pages referred to by Sharpe are neither better nor worse than the general work in so far as conformity to MS. is concerned. The following shows the details, pp. 1 to 17:—

Sir P. Spens	stanza	13	MS.	faer	printed, where.	
	,,	7^2	,,	deed	,,	death.
	,,	7^3	,,	I	,,	ye.
	,,	$8^{1.2}$	,,	meen	,,	moon.
	,,	10^4	,,	deed	,,	death.
	,,	11^2	,,	an'	,,	and.
	,,	14^3	,,	there	,,	in.
	,,	20^1	,,	faer	,,	where.
	,,	20^3	,,	ere	,,	till.
	,,	24^1	,,	ware	,,	were.
	,,	25^1	,,	ware	,,	were.
	,,	25^2	,,	sheen	,,	shoon.
	,,	25^4	,,	abeen	,,	aboon.
Young Akin	,,	$23^{1.3}$	,,	faer	,,	where.
	,,	29^1	,,	fan	,,	when.
	,,	47^1	,,	came before	,,	came in before.
	,,	50^1	,,	asking is nae	,,	askin's nae.
Young Waters	,,	3^1	,,	Young	,,	young. (throughout the piece).
	,,	3^2	,,	huners	,,	hunders.
	,,	7^2 / $8^{1.2}$	,,	an'	,,	and.
	,,	7^4	,,	een	,,	e'en.
	,,	11^1	,,	an'	,,	and.
	,,	12^1	,,	ill-will'd	,,	ill-wyled.
	,,	14^4	,,	dane.	,,	done.

The more material differences throughout the volumes are :—

Stanzas 48—53 inclusive, in the printed text of "Rose the Red and White Lillie"—are not in the Manuscript.

The addition of "Sir Patrick" to the title of "Burd Isbel," not in MS.

After Stanza 29 of "Clerk Sandy" the concluding 38 lines of the ballad are inserted into the MS. on a separate slip of paper.

In "Barbara Blair" verses 3 and 4 are transposed.

In "Thomas of Yonderdale" verse 23 "gazed" in MS., printed "garned."

In "Willie Drowned in Gamery" stanzas 1 and 6, "always" in MS. corrected in pencil and printed "wond'rous."

"Sir Niel and MacVan"—name throughout "Nile" in MS.

"Lord Livingston," verse 4, "Mitchell" printed "Michaell."
"Nathaniel Gordon," ,, 3, "wearied" ,, "weared."
"Geordie Downie," ,, 4, "leatherin" ,, "leather."
,, ,, ,, "swaggerin" ,, "vaporin."
"Earl Lithgow," verse 55, "peck o' sids" printed "peck o' seeds."
,, 56-58, "geet" ,, "get."

"Bonny bows o' London," verses 4 and 6,
"tweed-mill dam," printed "Tweed mill dam."
The MS. indicates a kind of cloth-mill,—the printed text a mill on the Tweed.

"Death of John Seaton," in the 1st line the name of a month has been deleted and "*June*" put in its place.

"Captain Johnstoun's Last Farewell."
verse 3, "fought" printed "faced."
"purchasing fame" ,, "pursued the chase."
verse 4, "indeed" ,, "intend."
"take this" ,, "free his."
verse 5, "gie consent" ,, "condescend."

"Laird o' Drum."
verse 1, "wooing" in MS., printed "hunting."
,, 2, "bonnie lassie" ,, ,, "fair may."
,, 3-4, "whore" ,, ,, "miss."

The words printed, are written in pencil over the words in the MS.

"Jock o' Hazelgreen."

In MS. after verse 7 is a "Youngest Son" verse (a repetition of same kind, as "Oldest Son" and "Second Son" in former verses),—it *is not* printed.

"Willie's fatal Visit." Verse 17 has in MS. "Meggie's deece." printed "Meggie's dice."

II

DETAILED LIST OF THE 83 PIECES NOT PRINTED IN THE 1828 VOLS.

1. "The Jolly Harper," p. 17, note p. 8.
   Small verbal changes. [Child, No. 192]*.
2. "The Heir of Linne," p. 35, note p. 16.
   Small verbal changes. [Child, No. 267].
3. "Brown Adam." p. 56, note p. 18.
   Small verbal changes. In note Buchan says, "Baron Creolie in Yarrow," the hero. [Child, No. 98].
4. "Sir Hugh the Graeme," p. 63, note p. 20. One verse not in the Museum MSS. It comes in between stanzas 12 and 13:—

   "Ye'll tell the news to Maggie my wife,
   The first time ye gang o'er the muir;
   She is the cause I lose my life,
   She bade me steal the bishop's mare."

   In his note Buchan gives the gist of what afterwards appeared in Stenhouse's note as to the origin of the ballad. [Child, No. 191].

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*Where reference to Child's English and Scottish Popular Ballads occurs in this Appendix, it indicates that the texts he printed were taken from the Museum MSS.—not from the original. We note the nature of the differences between the two manuscripts.

5. "False Colin," p. 101, note p. 31.
   Forty verses of stall-stuff in which "Waly, waly" is brought in. In note Buchan says, "composed by a shepherd Jamie Douglas, Isle of Lewis—taken down from an old blind minstrel [James Rankin?], and collated with a copy from a schoolmaster." Title in Museum MSS. "Young Colin."
6. "John Armstrong's Death," p. 108, note p. 33.
   From "Old Ballads," 1723, with one verse added in pencil from "Blue Blanket."
7. "Tam-o-lane, or the Elfin Knight," p. 145, note p. 44.
   A few small verbal differences. In note Buchan associates the ballad with the Forbes family, Aberdeenshire, but gives no authority for doing so. [Child No. 39].
8. "The two Brothers," p. 194, note p. 61.
   Small verbal differences. In an addition to his note B. gives an account of the 1682 affair. [Child No. 49].
9. "Young Bondwell," p. 206, note p. 65.
   Small verbal differences. [Child No. 53].
10. "The Laird o' Logie," p. 219, note p. 65.
    "Lady Margaret carries the keys o' the cellar."
    19, 4-line stanzas.
    Buchan, in his note, gives the quotation from "The Historie of King James the Sext."
11. "Barbara Livingston," p. 219, note p. 68. "Glenroyal" for "Glenlyon," and minor differences. [Child No. 222].
12. "The Cadger's Courtship," p, 232, note p. 71.
    "A cadger braw cam' to this town." In Mus. MSS.
13. "Johnny o' Cocklesmuir," p. 235, note p. 71.
    Minor verbal differences throughout. [Child No. 114].
14. "The Fause Lord," p. 245, note p. 72.
    Minor differences in verses 36, 45, 46, 52. [Child No. 62].
15. "The Earl o' Wemyss," p. 296, note p. 80.
    The verses are not in the same order—6 and 7 here, are in the Museum copy 11 and 12. The sub-title given here is, "or Richard Torry." It is named "The Earl of Winton's Daughter" in the Museum MSS. [Child No. 232].

16. "The Serving man became a Queen," p. 299, note p. 80.
Buchan in his note states that he was deceived by his "blind minstrel," James Rankin, in this ballad. It is from "Old Ballads, 1723." In Mus. MSS.

17. "Jock Sheep," p. 357, note p. 92.
A blend of "The Knight Outwitted" and "Jock Sheep." In Mus. MSS.

18. "Lord Burnett and Little Munsgrove," p. 385, note p. 97.
Small verbal differences. In his note Buchan connects the ballad with the Burnett of Leys family, Aberdeenshire, but gives no authority. [Child No. 81].

19. "Rob Roy's Courtship," p. 437, note p. 106.
A modern stroud, with refrain "Rob Roy Macgregor O."

20. "Willie and his midgy mare," p. 464, note p. 113.
Said to be connected with William III.

21. "Queen Jeannie's Death," p. 484, note p. 120.

22. "The Bailie's Daughter of Islington," p. 496, note p. 124.

23. "Child Nourice," p. 505, note p. 132. In Mus. MSS.

24. "Fair Rosamond," p. 507, note p. 136. In Mus. MSS.

25. "The Meeting of Robin Hood and Little John," p. 520, note p. 141.

26. "King Robert Bruce," p. 560, note p. 150.

27. "The mill, mill, O," p. 572, note p. 157.
Quotes older song in the note.

28. "The Lairds Courtship," p. 588, note p. 161.
"My coat shall be the linsey brown." In Mus. MSS.

29. "The Tarves Lassie," p. 615, note p. 167.
"There was a bonny young lassie." In Mus. MSS.

30. "The Duke o' Hamilton's Wager," p. 620, note p. 169.
In his note he dates this ballad 1707. Under "Duke Hamilton," in the Index, there is written in a small neat hand, "Earl o' Deloraine's." In Mus. MSS.

31. "Pitcathley Wells," p. 639, note p. 196.
In the note B. says, "The author was Alexander Lamont, once a shepherd on the banks of the Tay, who had gone to the wells in 1615, when attacked by a spasmodic complaint." In Mus. MSS.

32. "Duke Hamilton and Lord Mohun," p. 665, note p. 182. In Mus. MSS.
33. "The Duchess of Hamilton," p. 668, note p. 188. In Mus. MSS.
34. "Henry V. and the King of France," p. 672, note p. 189. [Child, No. 164].
35. "The Briest Knots," p. 713, note p. 203. In Mus. MSS.
36. "King James and the Tinkler," p. 721, note p. 210.
37. "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury," p. 724, note p. 211. In Mus. MSS.
38. "The Scottish Exile," p. 729, note p. 219.
In note B. says that Rankin has deceived him again—this is a version of "It was a' for our richtfu' King." In Mus. MSS.
39. Yon town bonnie lassie," p. 734. ,,
40. "The Earl of Mar's Farewell," p. 735. ,,
41. "A bonny lass to marry me," p. 737. ,,
42. "O'er the muir to Maggie," p. 738. ,,
43. "A young lassie and auld man." p. 740.
Same as "The Lassies Complaint," ,,
44. "Aikendrum," ... ... p. 741. ,,
45. "Robbie reave her apron," ... p. 742. ,,
46. "The Auld minister's epistle," p. 744. ,,
47. "Jackie Tar," ... ... p. 746. ,,
48. "The Wally Hoggie," ... p. 748. ,,
49. "Secret Love," ... ... p. 749. ,,
50. "Tibbie Dow," ... ... p. 750. ,,
51. "My Luckie," ... ... p. 753. ,,
52. "The Quaker's wife." ... ... p. 753. ,,
53. "Grace Hay's Gravity," ... p. 754. ,,
54. "Jeannie Black's three sons," p. 756. ,,
55. "Glebs o' Gear," ... ... p. 756. ,,
56. "The Lady's Misfortune," ... p. 757. ,,
57. "King Knapperty," ... ... p. 759. [Child No. 33].
58. "The Beggar's rise and fall," p. 764.
Same as "The Friar and Nun." In Mus. MSS.

This is an instance of an English broadsheet ballad, being transmitted by tradition and reduced to the dimensions of a song.

59. "Key me, dearie, key me," ... p. 767, In Mus. MSS.
60. "St. Mary's Kirk," ... ... p. 773, ,,
61. "The laidly worm of Spindleston Haughs," p. 775.
Same as Evans' Collection, 1784, Vol. 3, p. 171.
62. "Bobbing John," ... ... p. 798, In Mus. MSS.
63. "Johnny and his grey breeks," p. 807. ,,
64. "The fit's come o'er me now," p. 810. ,,
65. "Bonny Meggie Braidie," ... p. 813. ,,
66. "The Punch Bowl," ... ... p. 814. ,,
67. "Earl o' Kilmarnock's Lament," p. 815. ,,
68. "The New Colled Apron," ... p. 817. ,,
69. "Jocky Latin," ... ... p. 819. ,,
70. "Fa' convoy'd you, Peggy," ... p. 819. ,,
71. "The Ware Horse," ... ... p. 821. ,,
The horse used for carrying sea-weed.
72. "Rantin, rovin Robbie," ... p. 822. ,,
73. "Throu' the Boggie,"... ... p. 823. ,,
74. "Ower Bogie wi him," ... p. 823. ,,
75. "Delvin Side,"... ... ... p. 824. ,,
76. "The House below the brae," p. 824. ,,

Appendix, differently paged, consisting of "Curious and Valuable Ancient Scottish and English Ballads, rarely to be met with."

77. "The Red Cross Knight," ... ... p. 737.
78. "The Death of the Sutherlands," ... ... p. 754.
79. "The Death of Menteith," ... ... p. 759.
80. "The Death of George Stoole," ... ... p. 760.
81. "The Broomfield Hill," ... ... p. 765.
82. "Prince Edward and Adam Gordon," ... ... p. 769.
83. "The Wren," ... ... p. 776.

APPENDIX B

The "Savoury" Manuscript, as Sharpe dubbed this collection of the ribald, high-kilted, northern and other muse, is a thin folio of 181 pp., and bears the following title:—

"SECRET SONGS OF SILENCE,

CHIEFLY SCOTTISH, ANCIENT AND UNPUBLISHED, FROM THE RECITATION OF VERY OLD PEOPLE,

BY

SIR OLIVER ORPHEUS, BART., OF ELDRIGE HALL, ETC.

To be nice about trifles is trifling and folly,
The right end of life is to live and be jolly."

Preceding the title is a lengthy dedication to Wm. Gordon, Esq., of Fyvie, signed "The Editor of Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland, Helicon-hill House, near Aberdeen, 23 June, 1832." Following the title, is another short Dedication to the same, signed "The Collector."

In Sharpe's Ballad Book, edited by Laing, 1880—and in the notes which Buchan supplied to Hogg and Motherwell's edition of Burns' Works, 1834, a few of the items in this collection appear either in whole or part. Also some of them re-appear in the Buchan MSS., British Museum.

The manuscript is now in Harvard University Library.

CONTENTS

1. "The Souter's Feast."
2. "Maggie Lauder." (original way).
3. "The Tailor's Mistake."
4. "The Souter o' New Deer."
5. "The Baker o' the town o' Ayr."
6. "The Duke's Daughter."
7. "John Edward." [In Mus. MSS.]
8. "The Crab Fish."
   [In the Percy folio MS., and Sharpe's Bal. Book, p. 66.]
9. "The wanton Trooper."
10. "Dainty Davie."
11. "The Weaver and his Shuttle, O."
    [referred to in Burns Vol II., p. 154.]
12. "The Haggis o' Dunbar."
    [In Sharpe's Ballad Book, 1880, p. 69].
13. "The Merry Merchant."
14. "Slow Willie Stenson."
15. "The Dusty Wife's daughter."
16. "Row'd a' together."
17. "Clout the Caudron." (the original way).
18. "Hittum, tittum."
19. "The Landry Maiden."
20. "Kist Yestreen." [In Burns II., p. 327.]
21. "Johnny McBey."
22. "The Lancashire Farmer."
23. "The Horned Miller."
24. "The Cuckold."
25. "Johnny Cooper."
26. "Whistle o'er the lave o't."
27. "The Astrologer."
28. "The Bridegroom Grat." [In Mus. MSS.]
29. "The Bed Making."
30. "The Tailor's Courtship."
31. "The Whirley Wha."
32. "Gibbie Brown."

33. "The Lady and poor Pedlar."
34. "The Lasses of Kinghorn."
35. "The Sodgers of Edinburgh."
36. "Dickie Melvin."
37. "The lang girdin o't." [In Burns II., 210].
38. "The Deil and the feathery wife."
39. "Wattie and Jeannie."
40. "Hay of Ranna's lament."
41. "Will ye lend me yer loom, lass." [In Mus. MSS.]
42. "Preston Peggy."
43. "The Young Dairymaid."
44. "The Bonny Lad."
45. "The Irishman and Cobbler."
46. "The Friar and the Maid."
47. "Damon and Colia."
48. "Gossip John."
49. "The Dyer of Roan."
50. "Slow men of London."
51. "The Protestation."
52. "John and Susan."
53. "My apron, dearie."
54. "A Yorkshire tale."
55. "The Silent flute."
56. "Cleon and Sylvia.
57. "The happy Beggar wenches."
58. "The Bashful Maid."
59. "Pope Joan's Kissing Dance."
60. "The Cordial."
61. "The Double Entendre."
62. "The Gallant Schemer's petition."
63. "The Penitent Nun."
64. "The London 'Prentice."
65. "The Sailor's Frolic."
66. "The Gown o' Green."
67. "The Farmer and Lace Merchant,"
68. "Fun upon fun."
69. "The pretty Chambermaid."

70. "The Parson's fat wedder."
71. "The Wanton Virgins frightened."
72. "The Minister's Maid's Courtship."
73. "The Absent Farmer."
74. "The Mill, Mill, O." (original way).
75. "The Lee Rig."
76. "The F——t——diad."

APPENDIX C

CONTENTS OF BUCHAN MSS. IN BRITISH MUSEUM

[2 VOLS. ADD. MSS. 29.408.409.]

BALLADS OF SCOTLAND, together with a few of those of England: forming part of a great Collection of Ballads and Songs, both old and new, entitled "Ancient Minstrelsy of the North of Scotland, in its original purity, and hitherto unpublished, by Peter Buchan."

N.B.—The items we print in italics were copied by Buchan in 1838, from the original MS. of his Collection (1816-27). They consist of 79 pieces, 65 of which were not printed in his two volumes of 1828, and 14 were printed therein. The other contents were collected by him from 1828 onwards, mostly from James Rankin's recitation. Items, however, from printed sources also occur, especially in the second volume, where probably not less than one third is from broadsheets, chapbooks and such like fugitive publications. The *popular* ballads herein recorded, have been catalogued and annotated in "Ward's Catalogue of Romances," 1883, Vol. I., pp. 537-44, and are marked in our list "W." Those included in the "Scottish Traditionary Versions of Ancient Ballads," issued by the Percy Society in 1845, are marked "P. S. 1845." Occasional notes are added to the Songs and Broadsheets, indicating where they, or variations of them, may be found in print, etc.

Portrait of Jas. Hawkins, the blind beggar, whom I kept for
many years travelling through Scotland collecting Ballads & Songs
for me, at a heavy expence.—He died about 15 years ago.
D. Buchan.

Copyright.

Photograph by Donald Macbeth, London.

From an Engraving in "Buchan Manuscripts" in the British Museum.

TITLES AND FIRST LINES

1. *Young Colin.* W.
   Beginning—"Young men and maidens attend to my story."
2. *Tam-a-lin.* W. P. S. 1845.
   "Take warning, a' ye ladies fair."
3. *Young Bondwell.* W. P. S. 1845.
   "Young Bondwell was a squire's ae son."
4. *Lord Burnett and little Munsgrave.* W. P. S. 1845.
   "Four and twenty handsome youths."
5. *The Jolly Harper.* W. P. S. 1845.
   "There was a jolly harper man."
6. *The Heir of Linne.* W. P. S. 1845.
   "The bonny heir, the well faurd heir."
7. *Brown Adam the Smith.* W.
   "O wha wad wish the wind to blaw."
8. *Sir Hugh the Graeme.* W. P. S. 1845.
   "Lord Home he is a-hunting gane."
9. *The twa Brothers.* W.
   "There were twa brothers in the east."
10. *The Death of John Armstrong.* W.
    "Was there ever a man in fair Scotland.
11. *The fause Lord.* W.
    "Learn, O learn, fair Annie, he said."
12. *Barbara Livingston.* W.
    "Bonny Barbara Livingston."
13. *Johnnie o' Cocklesmuir.* W. P. S. 1845.
    "Johnnie raise up in a May morning."
14. The Earl of Winton's Daughter = *The Earl of Wemyss.* W.
    "As I cam in by yon burnside."
15. Bonny Barbara Allan. W.
    "In Scarlet town where I was bound."
16. Prince Heathen. W.
    "Lady Margaret sat in her bower door."
17. Lord Ellis. W.
    "The King has caused a noble court."

18. *Fair Rosamond.* W.
"Ye gentle charming ladies fair."
19. The Duke of Newcastle's Lady.
[Scots Mus. Museum, 1853, IV., p. *416].
"There is not a tailor in all London town."
20. The fause Lover. W.
"A fair maid sat in her bower door."
21. The Herring.
"What will I make o' my herring's tail?"
22. Bold Burnett's Daughter. W.
"The lady's taen her mantle her middle about."
23. The Indian Kings.
"Listen to a true relation."
24. *The Bonny Breast Knots.*
"There was a bridal in this town." [Mackay, p. 294†].
25. *King Knapperty.*
"King Knapperty he's a hunting gane."
26. *Key me, dearie, key me.* W.
"There lived a frog in yonder well."
27. Auld Tam Barrow. [Greig's MS. Records, 1908].
"'Twas in the month o' Februar."
28. *Childe Nourice.*‡ W.
"Childe Nourice stood in stable door."
29. *The Cadger's Courtship.*
"A cadger braw came to this town."
30. *The Servant Man become a Queen.* W.
"Ye beauteous ladies great and small."
31. *Jock Sheep, or the maiden outwitted.* W.
"There was a Knight and a lady bright."
32. Ohon, orie.
"Why should I sit and sigh." [Mackay, p. 120].
33. Mary Scott.
"O Mary's red, and Mary's white." [Mackay, p. 34].

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†The Illustrated Book of Scottish Songs, London, 1854.

‡42 lines in original MS. 78 lines here.

34. The Lovely Lass of Maryculter.
"How sweetly smile the banks of Dee!"

35. *The Laird's Courtship.*
"My coat shall be the linsy brown."

36. *The Tarvas Lassie.*
"There was a bonnie young lassie."

37. O as the Haggis Glowr'd.
As title.

38. Round about our Fireside.
"I'll loe nae a laddie but ane."

39. Our ain Fireside.
"My country o'er thy mountains wild."
[Mackay, p. 163].

40. *The Duke of Hamilton's Wager.*
"Duke Hamilton wager'd a wager." = "Kis't yestreen."
[Appendix B. Herd II., p. 226].

41. *Pitkaithly Wells.*
"It fell about the Lammas time,"
[Grieg's Folk Song, papers 1907-11, Nos. 20, 21, and Motherwell's Chap-Books, No. 31, Vol. 1].

42. *Duke Hamilton and Lord Mohun's Fight.*
"Duke Hamilton was as fine a lord."

43. *King Henry V. and King of France.* W.
"As our King lay musing on his bed."

44. The Exile = *The Scottish Exile.*
"It's for our gude an' rightfu' King."

45. *Yon Town, Bonnie Lassie.*
"Yon town, bonnie lassie."

46. *The Earl of Mar's Farewell.*
"Alas! quoth Mar, and woe is me."

47. *A Bonny Lass to marry me.*
"A bonny lass is my delight."

48. *O'er the Muir to Maggy.*
"I'll o'er the muir to my bonny luve."

49. The Lassie's Complaint = *The Young Lassie and Auld Man.*
"O Katty, dear Katty, I'll tell you what grieves me."
[Burns II., p. 160* and Sharpe's Ballad Book,† p. 178].

50. *Robie reave her Apron.*
"It was into the how o' Byth."

51. *The Auld Minister's Sang.*
"Should auld acquaintance be forgot,"
[Skinner's Poems, 1859, p. 93].

52. *Jacky Tar.*
"Come ashore, Jacky Tar, an' your trousers on."
[Grieg's F. S. Papers, No. 73].

53. *The Wally Hoggie.*
"Coxton had but ae hoggie."
[Burns, II., p. 221, and Sharpe, p. 175].

54. *Secret Love.*
"Dinna ask me gin I luve thee."
[Mackay, p. 118, Burns, III., p. 201].

55. *Tibby Dow.*
"Hey, my Tibby, an' how my Tibby."

56. *My Lucky.*
"My lucky an' I gaed to the well."

57. *The Quaker's Wife.*
"Merrily danc'd the quaker's wife."

58. *Grace Hay's Gravity.*
"It was upon Culloden muir." [Sharpe, p. 178].

59. *Jenny Black's Three Sons.*
"Jenny Black had three sons."

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*Burns' Works, edited by Hogg and Motherwell, 5 vols. Glasgow, 1834.

†Almost all the items noted here, as in "Sharpe's Ballad Book," edited by Laing, 1880, were printed from note-book jottings, made by Sharpe from Buchan's MSS., during the time they were in his possession. On page 173, the gentleman who saw the Ballad Book through the press, after Mr. Laing's death, records, that they are evidently from "a northern collector."—These are indicated in our notes as "Sharpe."

60. *Glebs o' Gear.*
"I hae been courting at a lass." [Herd II., p. 135].
61. *The Lady's Misfortune.*
"Aft hae I heard o' an auld man."
62. *Saint Mary's Kirk.*
"As I went out on an evening clear."
63. *Bobbing John.*
"Come a' ye roving blades."
64. *The Grey Breeks.*
"My Peggy is a saucy hen,"
65. *The Fit's come o'er me now.*
"O mither dear, these saxteen year."
[Greig's MS. records, 1908].
66. *Bonny Meggy Bridie.*
"Bonny Meggie, braw Meggie." [Sharpe, p. 174].
67. *The Punch Bowl.*
"The filling o' the punch bowl wearies me."
68. *The Earl of Kilmarnock's Lament.*
"Hey my Eppy." [Burns II., p. 250].
69. *The New Coll'd Apron.*
"As I came down the street yestreen."
70. *Jocky Latin.*
"Bonny Jocky, braw Jocky." [Burns III., p. 9]
71. *Wha convoyed you, Peggy?*
"Wha convoyed you, Peggy?
72. *The Ware-Horse.*
"I hae been at the ware-horse." [Burns III., p. 53].
73. *Rantin' Rovin' Robbie.*
"O deal healy wi' me, Robie."
74. *Through the Boggie.*
"Bonny lassie, come my road."
[Mackay, p. 40, and Greig's MS. records].
75. *O'er Boggie wi' him.*
"As I came by Strathboggies yetts."
[Mackay, p. 41, and Sharpe, p. 174].
76. *Delvin Side.*
"Will ye gae, my bonny May."
[Mackay p. 119, and Sharpe, p. 173].

77. *The Housie below the brae*, or The Moudiewort.
"I hae gotten a braw new gown." [Burns, II., p. 206].
78. Bessy Bell and Mary Gray.
"O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray."
[Mackay, p. 29, and Sharpe, p. 62].
79. The Friar and the Nun = *The Beggar's rise and fall.*
"There was a jolly beggar, in begging well acquaint."
80. Tom and Will.
"Tom and Will, two shepherds swain."
[Ebsworth's Roxburghe Ballads, Vol. IV., p. 197].
81. I'll ne'er beguile you.
"There's my thumb, I'll ne'er beguile you."
[Mackay, p. 120].
82. Polwarth on the Green.
"Among the broom unseen."
83. Boat of Logie.
"The day it was a drappy day."
84. Bothwell Bank.
"On the blythe beltane, as I went."
85. The Haughs of New.
"As I went up the haughs of New."
[See "Christie's Ballad Airs," II., p. 150].
86. Alison.
"My love she lives in Linco'n shire."
87. Helen. W.
"Burd Helen was her mother's dear."
88. Harry Lumsdale and Jeanie Gordon.
"First when Harry came to Clatt." [Burns II., p. 197].
89. The Silver Tassie.
"As I went out to take the air." [Burns, II., p. 229].
90. Gin ye had been where I hae been.
"There came a trooper to this town." [See No. 144].
91. The Soutter's Feast.
"There came a soutter out o' Ein."
[Greig's F.S. papers, No. 12, also Appendix B].
92. The Tailor and the Louse.
"There was a tailor at a time."

93. Gather & Go.—["The Gordon's hae the guiding o't," in pencil].
"The musical tribe of this new fangled age."

94. My Sandy, O.
"There's a rose in my apron to Sandy, O."
[*Hecht's Herd, pp. 123, 292].

95. The Lass wi' the twa handed Wheel.
"In my youth I became a bold tramper.

96. Davie Faa.
"There was a wealthy farmer."

97. The British Merchant.
"There was a British merchant."

98. Young Gordon and his Garten.
"It was in a morning right early in May."

99. The Ghost and Sailor.
"Proud Boreas makes a hideous noise."

100. The Bonny Lass o' Fyvie.
"There was a troop of Irish dragoons."
[Greig's F. S. papers, No. 15].

101. Get married as soon as ye can.
"Young virgins attend."

102. The Bridegroom grat when the sun gaed down.
"A young man came to my bower door."
[Also Appendix B].

103. I wish I were where Gawdie rins.
As title.

104. Gawdie Water.
"O gin I were where Gawdie rins."
[Greig's F. S. Papers, No. 10].

105. The Twelve Apostles.
"We will a' gae sing, boys."
[Chambers' "Rhymes of Scotland, 1870," p. 44].

106. The Cock Co.
"I bought a cock an' he pleas'd me well."
[Greig's MS. as a child's rhyme]

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*Songs from Herd's Manuscripts, edited by Hans Hecht, Edinr., 1904.

107. The Yule Days.
"The King sent his Lady on the first Yule day."
[Chambers' "Rhymes of Scotland, 1870," p. 42].
108. The Paris Lady's Daughter.
"There was a lady's daughter."
109. The Ghost of Rentonhall.
"Weep Helen till your eyes run dry."
110. The Ring Leader.
"I am intending for to write."
111. John Edward.
"John Edward something funny was."
[Also Appendix B].
112. The Collier Laddie.
"I hae been east, I hae been west." [Burns II., p. 239].
113. The Devil Outwitted.
"By a' the plagues that's on the earth."
114. The Haggis o' Dunbar.
"There was a haggis in Dunbar." [Sharpe, p. 69].
115. Tibbie Fowler.
"Tibbie Fowler in the Brae." [Herd II., p. 223].
116. The Baudie Sang.
"I'll sing baudie, bawdie, baudie."
117. Newcastle Eppie.
"I gaed to Newcastle."
118. Bonny Mally Gordon.
"Wha convoyed you thro' the water?"
119. Broadland House.
"When I was a brisk and a bonny young laddie."
120. The Merry Merchant.
"First when I came to Logie house."
121. Nancy Newel.
"First when I came to town."
122. An Answer to Nancy Newel.
"O for the cap and stoup."
123. Lennox love to Blantyre.
"The Wren she lies in cares bed."
[Herd II., p. 209, and Hecht's Herd, pp. 313-14].

124. Johnny Rednose.
"Where are ye gain? quoth Hose to Mose."
[Hecht's Herd, pp. 200 and 315].

125. The Corbie and the Pyot.
As title.

126. Willie wi' the cutty gun.
"Blythe, blythe, an' merry was she."

127. The Lass o' Billdock Mill.
"Wha's e'er been at Billdock."

128. May Robb's ae Daughter.
"As May Robb's ae daughter."

129. An' she come near me.
"O, what will I do an' she come near me?"

130. An' the Kirk wad lat me be.
"Hey, trafuddle, trafuddle." [Hecht's Herd, p. 290].

131. As I stood on the Pier of Leith.
As title.

132. Come kiss wi' me, come clap wi' me.
As title.
[See Stenhouse's Notes "Scots Musical Museum," p. 325 and p. 377].

133. Donald, gird my Coggie.
"Donald Cooper comes at e'en."
[Version of "The Cooper o' Cuddie."].

134. For our lang byding here.
As title.

135. Had I the wyte, she bade me?
"First when I came to Aberdeen."
[Hecht's Herd, p. 288].

136. The Gallant Shoemaker.
"There lives a fair maid near hard by."
[Greig's F. S. papers, No. 42].

137. Hey how the lang Saddle.
As title.

138. I am asleep, do not wauken me.
"A bonny young lassie there lives in this town."

139. I have lost my Marrow.
"As I gaed down yon field so green."

140. I'll gang nae mair to yon town.
"We'll gang nae mair to yon town."
[Burns II., p. 201].

141. I'll make you be fain to follow wi' me.
"O hark, and I'll tell you how it came to pass."
[Hecht's Herd, pp. 148 and 300].

142. I'll never love thee more.
"My dear and only love I pray." [Herd I., p. 236].

143. I'll never leave thee.
"Leave thee, laddie, leave thee."
[See Christie's Ballad Airs, II., p. 167].

144. If ye had been where I hae been.
"Gin ye had been where I hae been." [See No. 90].

145. Hey Tuttie Tattie.
As title. [Mackay, p. 171, Burns, II., p. 290].

146. My Wife she dang me.
"I was twenty years a bachelor." [Burns III., p. 29].

147. O if I were married.
"The black dog Amirus."

148. Ye'll open the door to three.
As title.

149. Saw ye my Peggy.
"As I gaed out ae morning."

150. The Ale-wife and her Barrel.
"My mind is vext and sair perplext."
[Mackay, p. 234, Greig's F. S. papers, No. 12].

151. The Auld ga'd Aver.
"He tuzzled a' her petticoat."

152. The bonniest Lass in a' the Warld.
"My love came to me when I was in drink."

153. The Gordons hae the guiding o't.
As title.

154. How can I be sad on my wedding day?
As title. [Burns II., p. 235].

155. Sae merry as we hae been.
"A lassie was laden wi' care." [Herd I., p. 286].

156. Logan Water is so deep.
"Logan water and Logan braes." [Herd II., p. 230].
157. Through the Wood, Laddie.
"O Sandy, why leave you your Nelly to mourn?"
158. Up in the morning early.
"Up in the morning, up in the morning."
[Burns II., p. 217, Mackay, p. 233].
159. Were ye at the Bridal?
As title.
160. What the Devil ails you?
"Gat na ye your kail yestreen."
161. Where will our Guidman lie?
As title.
162. Widow are ye wauking?
"How, wanton widow?" [Mackay, p. 190].
163. Will ye lend me your Loom, lass?
"O Lassie are ye wauking yet?"
164. The Carle he came o'er the craft.
As title. [Herd II., p. 33].
165. Etterick John.
"On Etterick banks there lived a man."
166. The bonny Lad o' America.
"I'll put on my gown and plaid."
167. The Laird of Leslie's livery-man.
"The bonny laird of Leslie's livery-man."
168. Will ye walk the Forest?
As title.
169. Low down in the Broom.
"'Twas on a Monday morning."
170. The Bridegroom greets, etc.
"The Bridegroom greets when the sun gaes down."
[Sharpe, p. 16 and p. 128].
171. Roy's Wife o' Aldivalloch.
"Davie Gordon in Kirktown." [Mackay, p. 64].
172. Duncan Gray.
"As I came in by Aberdeen." [Burns II., p. 210].

173. The Weary Pund o' Tow.
"Come all ye jolly bachelors." [Burns II., p. 292].

174. Mally Roe.
"In former times I've been a-roving."

175. Blink over the Burn, sweet Betty.
As title. [Greig's MS. records, 1908].

176. Proventy Fair.
"Draw hither a while, my little dear thing."

177. The Prining o' her Apron.
"The second o' December."

178. The Greenwood sae wide.
"As I was walking me alone."

179. Cow the Gown Clean.
"Some people talk of Hector's deeds."

180. John Hay's bonny Mary.
"As I gaed down, and farther down." [Mackay, p. 57].

181. Listen now and hear me.
As title.

182. Rantin', Roarin' Willie."
"My rantin', roarin' Willie."

183. Jocky and Lord Thomas.
"Jocky was the blythest lad."

184. Jenny beguil'd the Wabster."
"Buan a lery, owsen bew."

185. My Apron Deary.
"A lad and lass met on the green."

186. The Mucking o' Geordy's Byre.
"Ance I gaed out in an evening."

187. Tibby Hunter.
"O Tibby Hunter's lying sick."

188. The Widow of the North Muir's Daughter.
"There once was a lady in the North Muir dwelt."

189. Gight's Lament.
"These sixty years, I've led my life."

190. Donald Munro, the Robber.
"When the sons of North Britain were forced to range."

191. Johnston's Lamentation.
"When I was crossing o'er the Aboyne water."
192. The Grizzless Ghost of Barnesdale. W.
"There lived a lady in Barnesdale."
193. The Auld Farmer's Daughter.
"There was an auld farmer, my grandfather ken'd him."
[In "Smith's Douglas Travestie," Aberdeen, 1824. It was written by Alexander Robb. See "Bards of Bon-Accord," p. 525].
194. The Wedding o' Glenlee.
"A wedding, a wedding, a wedding, ye ken'd."
195. The Den of Lions.
"In Dalkeith town there liv'd a lady."
[See Greig's F.S. Papers, No. 68].
196. Dick and Nell.
"Cold and peevish is the weather."
197. The Fisher's Rant.
"When we are in a merry mood."
198. Leith Hall's murder.
"Come all ye natives of Scotland's Isle."
199. The Stripling Boy.
"Down by a crystal river side."
[Greig's F.S. papers, No. 97].
200. Allan McLean.
"These lines put in order, wrote down by a pen."
[Greig's F.S. papers, No. 179],
201. Rosy Anderson.
"Hay Marshall was a gentleman."
[Greig's F.S. Papers, No. 127].
202. The Mask and Rung.
"There was a farmer's daughter."
[Greig's F.S. Papers, No. 173, 177].
203. The Lady of the Castle. W.
"What lady's this I nightly meet?"
[With a note at end giving the tradition of The Green Lady of Fyvie Castle, Aberdeenshire. Generally supposed to be composed by Buchan himself].

VOL. II.

204. The Fisher's Rant. [Duplicate of No. 197].
205. Jamie the Rover,—from tradition.
"Of all the days that are in the year."
[Hogg's Relics, I., p. 102].
206. Answer to Jamie the Rover, from tradition.
"I hae courted a lassie a twelvemonth and more."
207. The Wanton Wife of Bath. W.
"In Bath a wanton wife did dwelle."
208. Auld Kyndness quite forzet quhen ane grows pure.
"This warld is all but fenziet fair."
[Hailes' Ancient Scots Poems, 1770, p. 184].
209. The Heir of Linne. W.
"Lithe and listen, gentlemen."
210. The Patient Countess. W.
"Impatience chaungeth smoke to flame."
211. Lord Roslin's Daughter. W.
"The Lord of Roslin's Daughter.
212. The Wandering Lady. W.
"You fathers and mothers and children also."
213. Whittington and his Cat. W.
"Here must I tell the praise of worthy Whittington."
214. A pennyworth of wit. W.
"In ancient years, as Books express."
215. The Berkshire Lady. W.
"Batchelors of every station."
216. The Turkey Factor. W.
"Behold here's a ditty, 'tis true and no jest."
217. The Grecian's Daughter. W.
"In Rome I read, a nobleman."
218. The Cruel Knight. W.
"In famous York city a farmer did dwell."
219. The Jolly Hind Squire. W. P.S. 1845.
"Once there was a jolly hind-squire."

220. *The Cruel Mother.* W. P.S. 1845.
"It fell ance upon a day."
[Printed by Buchan in 1828, Vol. II., p. 222].
221. *The Laird of Drum.* W. P. S. 1845.
"The Laird o' Drum's a-wooing gane."
[Printed by B. in 1828, Vol. II., p. 194].
222. The Dead Man's Song. W.
"O sick, dear friends, I long time was."
223. *The Minister's Daughter of New York.* W. P.S. 1845.
[Printed by B. in 1828, Vol. II., p. 217].
224. The Weary Heir of Linne. W.
"O see for he gangs, O see for he stands."
225. *Dame Oliphant or Willie o' Douglass Dale.* W.
"Willie was an earl's ae son."
226. *The Virginia Maid's Lament.* W.
"Hearken an' I'll tell."
227. The two Kings. W.
"As our king lay musing on his bed."
[Duplicate No. 43].
228. Lord William. P.S. 1845.
"Lord William has gane o'er the sea."
[Child Vol. IV., p. 414].
229. *Cruel William.* W. = *Burd Helen.*
"The Knight he stands in stable door."
230. The False Knight. W.
"Who will be cook in my kitchen."
231. Lord William, the brave Knight. W.
232. Bold Burnet's daughter. W. [Duplicate No. 22].
233. Gights Lady. W.
"I chosed my love at the bonny yetts of Gight."
234. *The Duchess of Hamilton.*
"How shall bonny Ann lie." [Burns III., p. 208].
235. *Love Gregory.* W. P.S. 1845.
"It fell on a Wodensday."
[Printed by B., 1828, Vol. II., p. 198].
236. Lord and Lady Barnard. W.
"It fell on a holiday."

237. *The Water of Wearies Well.* W. P.S. 1845.
"There cam' a bird out o' a bush."
[Printed by B., 1828, Vol. II., p. 201].

238. The Water o' Gamery. W. P. S. 1845.
"Whan Willie was i' his saddle set."

239. *Braes of Yarrow.* W. P. S. 1845.
"Ten Lords sat drinkin' at the wine."
[Printed by B., 1828, Vol. II., p. 203].

240. *Lady Diamond.* W. P. S. 1845.
"There was a king an' a curious king."
[Printed by B. 1828, Vol. II., p. 206].

241. *The Betrayed Lady.* W.
"As I went by a jail-house door."

242. Auld Langsyne.
"The pleasant days are past and gane."

243. *The Haughs o' Yarrow.* W.
"Down in yon garden sweet and gay."

244. Saint Mary's Kirk. [Duplicate No. 62].

245. *Lord Thomas o' Winsbury.* W.
"Seven years the king he staid."

246. The Bonny Breast Knots. [Duplicate No. 24].

247. The Broom of the Cowdenknowes. W.
"There was a bonny, a well fared May."

248. Young Allan. W.
"There was four and twenty sailors bold."

249. Lady Maisry. W. [Child II., p. 352].

250. The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green. W.
"This song is of a beggar who long lost his sight."

251. The Merry Broomfield. W.
"A noble young squire that lived in the west."

252. The Prodigal Daughter, or the Disobedient Lady reclaimed.
"Let every wicked graceless child attend."

253. The Cruel Stepmother.
"You most indulgent parents lend an ear."
[Bib. Lindesiana, No. 1416].

254. The Constant Lovers.
"Lovers I beg lend an ear to this story."
[Bib. Lind. No. 783].

255. The Chester Ald-garn.
"A merchant of London, as many report."
256. The Cripple of Cornwall.
"Of a stout cripple that kept the highway."
[Bib. Lind., No. 943].
257. Fair Susan's Overthrow.
"Beauteous virgins of every station."
[Bib. Lind., No. 170].
258. The Oxford or Wandering Shepherdess.
"You, that do know what to true love belong."
[Bib. Lind., No. 1428].
259. Jane Shore.
"If Rosamond that was so fair."
[Old Ballads, 1723, Vol. I., p. 148].
260. Captain Ward and the Rainbow.
"Strike up, ye lusty gallants."
[Bib. Lind., No. 1094].
261. John the Shopkeeper.
"'Twas told you in a former lay."
262. The Seamen of Dover.
"O, Seamen of Dover, whose excellent parts."
263. The Bow Bells.
"You London dames that love to range."
264. The Miser Outwitted.
"Young women, if you'll draw near awhile."
265. The Princess.
"Come listen, young lovers, and you'll find."
266. The Beggars Wedding.
"All you that delight in a jest that is true."
[Bib. Lind., No. 50].
267. The Knight and the Lady.
"This noble relation which I am to write."
[Rox. Ballads, Vol. VIII., p. 251].
268. The Unhappy Lady of Hackney.
"You youthful charming ladies fair."
[Rox. Ballads, Vol. VIII., p. 658].
269. Berkshire Tragedy; or Wittam Miller.
"Young men and maidens give ear."
[Rox. Ballads, Vol. VIII., p. 629].

270. The Shepherd's Daughter betrayed.
"Come all ye constant lovers, and to me lend an ear."
[Bib. Lind., No. 222].

271. Cruelty to a Son.
"Both parents and lovers, I pray now attend."
[Bib. Lind., No. 186].

272. The Negro Woman's Lament.
"In St. Lucia's distant isle."

273. Bateman's Tragedy.
"You gallant dames, so finely fram'd."
[Bib. Lind., No. 1386].

274. The Mother Outwitted.
"You gallants of London, pray draw near awhile."

275. The New Burgomaster.
"Here you may see the turns of fate."
[Bib. Lind., No. 505].

276. *Willie Doo.* W.
"Whare hae ye been a' the day."
[Printed by B. in 1828, Vol. II., p. 179].

277. *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury.* W.
"I'll sing you a story, a story anon."

278. The White Hare of Culloden.
"Charley Stewart and his men they stood in a row."

279. Sally Salsbury.
"Of all the girls that e'er was nam'd."

280. Mussle Mou'd Charlie.
"Dolefu' rings the bell o' Rain."

281. The old Lover.
"The twelfth of October, the day being fair."

282. Auchiries Ewe.
"In Newton of Auchiries land."

283. On the Discovery of America.
"Ye brother Scots and relations all."

284. The Stripling Boy.
"Down by a crystal river side." [Duplicate No. 199].

285. Lord George Gordon.
"Come all ye brave Gordons thro' Scotland's wide border."

286. The Duchess of Gordon.
"O farewell ye bonny bog o' Gight."
287. Young Norman the Juggler.
"Near the town of Linlithgow."
288. The Friar and Fair maid.
"O hearken and hear, and I will you tell."
289. Pantine and his tree.
"Come all you chiefs and loyalists."
290. Crealy Duff.
"Urquharts in Enzie may rejoice."
(See Scot. "Notes and Queries," 2nd Series, Vol. II., p. 185, III., p. 8).
291. The Praise o' Duff House.
"What stately buildings here you see."
292. Gight's Lament. [Duplicate No. 189].
293. Sandie, the Scot.
"Sandie the Scot was born in Fife."
294. The Scots Complaint.
"Well met, brother William, and what news at court."
295. Sandhole Wedding.
"In Buchan as I walked near."
[Greig's F.S. papers, No. 52].
296. Beauties o' Buchan.
"Come here my relations in deep lamentation."
[Greig's F. S. papers, No. 52].
297. Donald Munro, the Robber. [Duplicate No. 190].
298. Rough Honesty.
"All you that have a jovial mind."
299. The Answer.
"I wonder who has been so kind."
300. Pretender's Lamentation.
"Britons may rejoice."
301. Johnston's Lamentation.
"As I was crossing the Bynewater."
[Duplicate of No. 191].
302. The French Gallio. [Broadsheet (?). Child V., p. 135].
"Our ship sailed to the north country."

303. Miss Grissel the famous Gray Mare.
"Come nobles and gentlemen and listen all."
304. The Grizzless Ghost of Farndale. W.
[Duplicate No. 192].
305. The Jacobite's Misfortune.
"As I gaed up tro' England."
306. Murray's Treachery.
"Will ye go to the Isle o' Lews?"
307. The French Gallolee.
"Our ship she did sail to the north countrie."
[Broadsheet (?). Child V., p. 135].
308. Captain Ward and the Rainbow.
"Come all ye jolly sailors bold.
[Broadsheet (?). Child V., p. 143].
309. James Hamilton. W.
"There was a laird of fair Scotland."
310. The Wee Wifikie. By Alexander Watson.
"There was a little wifikie."
311. The Kail Brose of Auld Scotland. By Alex. Watson.
"When our ancient forefathers agreed wi' the Laird."
312. Rural Life. By Alex. Watson.
"At the close of the year."
313. The Widower. By Alex. Watson.
"About the age of twenty-six."
314. [No Title]. By Alex. Watson.
"There liv'd a man tho' really good."
315. The Fop's Charity. By Alex. Watson.
"Upon a time as storys tell."
316. Tom and Jessy. By Alex. Watson.
"The wind was loud and roaring."
317. The Happy Pair. By Alex. Watson.
"Near the hill of Bennachie."
318. [No Title]. By Alex. Watson.
"We have long been at war."
319. For the fifth of June.* "By Revd. John Skinner."
"Grief and sorrow get you gone."

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*Items 319 to 326 have the authors' names noted in pencil.

320. Young Edward the Prince. "By Revd. John Skinner."
"In Paris fair town lived great Galia's lord."

321. [No Title.] "By J. S."
"O how shall I publish or strive to reveal."

322. [No Title]. "By J. S."
"And must it be to death then I must go."

323. On the Times. "By J. S."
"When I began the world first, it was not then as now."
[Skinner's Poems, 1809, p. 87. Mackay, p. 292].

324. [No Title]. "By J. S."
"Lodg'd in a canty cell of nine feet square."
[Skinner's Poems, 1859, p. xxxv].

325. [No Title.] "By Revd. Wm. Macdonald."
"O how weak I'm grown and weary."

326. To her Grace The Duchess of Gordon. "By Dr. Geddes."
"Your humble petitioner lives in a place."

327. The Presbyterian Confession.
"Popish Confession oft has been."

328. Sir Hugh and the Maiden. An Ancient Ballad.
"Nere to Carleile their dwells a Knight."

329. The Lady's Lament.
"O Ythan Braes bloom fair to see."

330. Song by the Duchess of M——.
"O grand bounds the deer o'er the mountain."

331. Lord Arnwaters.
"The King has written a broad letter."
[A version of Lord Derwentwater. See Child IV., p. 115].

332. Epitaph on Mr. Andrew Gray, 1670. By the Earl of Aboyne.
"This narrow room, this house of clay."

333. Song.
"I told my charmer, that of wealth."

334. O, gin my luvie were a red rosie.
As title. [Burns II., p. 103, given along with 335 as if one piece].

335. Another version, or Answer to "Gin my luvie were a red rosie."
"O gin my luvie were in a stoupie." [Burns II., p. 103].

336. The Frantic Lover. By the Hon. Charles Fox.
"And shall then another embrace thee my fair?"

337. Invocation to Poverty. By the same.
"O poverty of pale consumptive hue."

338. A parody. By the same.
"Drunk as a diagon, sure is he."

339. The Pleiades. By the same.
"With Devon's girl so blythe and gay."

340. The Spyte of Spain, 1588.
As title.

341. General Forbes of Skellator.
"Scotland is my native land."

342. Amintas Ghoste.*
"Forthe frome the furies of this plaice." [M. Rs. MS.].

343. Woe worth the tyme.
"Woe worth the tyme and eik the plaice."
[M. Rs. MS., Herd I., p. 209,
Forbes' Cantus, 1682, Song 29].

344. [No Title].
"Caire away goe thou from me."
[M. Rs. MS., Forbes' Cantus, Song 50].

345. Cala and Philemones.
"Quhen Cala sighing sadlie satt." [M. Rs. MS.].

346. The Lamentatione of a Sheepe-heard.
"O quhat a plague is love." [M. Rs. MS.].

347. 'Tis a vonder to see how this vorld does goe.
"Somtyme have I sein whein the vorld has bein merrie."
[M. Rs. MS. Printed in Ballads of the
N. of Scotland, 1828, p. xvii].

348. Once did I love.
"Once did I love the fairrest lassie." [M. Rs. MS.].

349. Rest aquhile.
"Rest aquhile yow cruell caires." [M. Rs. MS.].

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*The pieces from here to No. 357 are from the manuscript of Margarat Robertsoune, 1630, described by Buchan in the Introduction to his Ballads of the North of Scotland, p. xv. See "Hecht's Songs in Herd Manuscripts," p. 280.

350. Come away.
"Come away, come sweet love." [M. Rs. MS.].

351. James Heruie.
"My love band me with a kisse."
[M. Rs. MS. Printed in Ballads of the N. of Scotland, p. xviii].

352. Allace I die.
"Allace I die and dar not tell quhairfor.
[M. Rs. MS.].

353. The Frog and Mouse Mariag. [M. Rs. MS.].

354. My Father fyne.
"My father fyne wald have me tak." [M. Rs. MS.].

355. Gine Love loves trueth.
"Gine love loves trueth, then vemen doe not love."
[M. Rs. MS.].

356. Quhen.
"Quhen frome my love I look for love."
[M. Rs. MS. Forbes' Cantus, Song 46].

357. Sir, I thought good.
"Sir, I thought good to send yow a bukell."
[M. Rs. MS.].

358. [No Title].
"I cative curate languishes."

359. [No Title].
"Upright to live I sett my mynd."

360. Now for to tell you will I turn
Of [the] batayle of Bannock burn.
"Shottes, out of Berwick and of Abirdene."

APPENDIX D

From Documents in the handwriting of Peter Buchan and one of his sons, we have the following anent Buchanstown :—

"Valuation of the Lands of Buchanstown (by the Marquis of Bute's Land Surveyor), Nov. 18th, 1844.

1. North Park,	3'914	acres,	annual value	19 years	lease,	@ 30/-	£5 17	6
2. North-West,	2'046	,,	,,	,,	,,	@ 45/-	4 12	0
3. North-East,	2'636	,,	,,	,,	,,	@ 45/-	5 18	7
4. South-West,	3'151	,,	,,	,,	,,	@ 55/-	8 13	3
5. South-East.	3'132	,,	,,	,,	,,	@ 55/-	8 12	3
							£33 13	7
House Rent, ...							10 0	0
						Annual Rent,	£43 13	7

"*N.B.—The above measurement is exclusive of Roads, Sites of Houses and Gardens. Nos. 4 and 5 have been let since the valuation, at 75/- per acre. The feu-duty on the whole of Buchanstown is one-twelfth of a penny stg.*

Houses exclusive of Sites and Gardens, all requiring much repair, valued at £10 per annum @ 12 years' purchase ..	£120	0	0
The above land rent £33 13*s.* 7*d.*, @ 28 years' purchase ..	943	0	4
Since this valuation was made there has been expended in draining, ditching, and otherwise improving the land, new buildings, roofing, new doors, windows, etc., upwards of	800	0	0
	£1,863	0	4

"*N.B.—The Coal and Minerals in the land are not included in the above valuation. They alone are supposed to be worth* £16,000.

2nd.—Park Foot Farm, 5 acres of best land, a Slated Cottage, 2 Labourers' Houses, Barn and Byre, rent £24 10*s.*, valued by two Proprietors .. . . @	450	0	0
	£2,313	0	9

These two Lands lie adjacent, separated by a road, part of the property of Buchanstown, and contain a seam of coal 3½ to 4 feet thick of the best quality, for which a fixed rent of from £400 to £500 per annum has been offered, on a lease of 19 years."

III

NOTES ON ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH BALLADS AND SONGS

The Anti-Scottish Crusade

CONSIDERABLY over fifty years ago (1855-59), a permanent contribution of great importance was made to Musical and Ballad Literature by the publication of William Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time." Throughout that work he now and again had to cross swords with another musical critic of good standing, William Stenhouse, whose notes to Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum" occupy volume IV. of Mr. Laing's admirable reprint of that important national work. That Mr. Chappell succeeded, here and there, in breaking down some of the claims which the Scotsman had put forward as to the nationality of certain airs, has been fully allowed by all competent authorities; but it is too often forgotten that these fictitious claims were as a drop in the bucket, relative to the great body of his otherwise valuable and interesting notes. When this is duly considered, the wholesale denunciation of the annotator of Scottish songs, which now and again disfigures some of Mr. Chappell's pages, seems not altogether justified, and is quite out of keep-

ing with the fine temper and judgment he generally displays throughout his great and abiding work. Almost everybody now, who has acquaintance with the conditions under which the transmission of all traditionary lore (music or song), takes place, can see that Mr. Chappell's weakness lay in insisting that "where the earliest record of the music was found, *there* was the *origin*,"—that mere priority of manuscript or printed copies could settle nationality—and that all successive copies were derivatives from said record, and could be no other. Such statements can be accepted by those only who forget that tunes as well as the words they were sung to, if they belonged to the people, were for the most part transmitted orally, and may have wandered far, and for a long time, before they were committed to paper. The one who for the first time fixed in print or manuscript any traditionary song or tune, did not necessarily get the parent text, for that depended entirely on the character and quality of the memories through which it passed; and another searcher long after, and in a different locality, through a so-to-speak, different soil-bed, may tap a purer stream of tradition, and so get a less maltreated text than the earlier transcriber. Indeed the enquiry into the origin, or parent text of our traditionary airs or words, is a pretty hopeless quest, and cannot be settled off-hand by a reference to this manuscript or that, to Playford's "Dancing Master" or settings by Farmer, or other composers and compilers of "the Merry Monarch's" time; as we can never tell what older traditional matter may have

been picked up from itinerant singers (multitudinous in those days), and used by musicians and ballad-makers in the ordinary course of their professions. However, it is not with Mr. Chappell and his musical work that we have to do in these notes,* but rather with some of his successors who, adopting the underlying assumption of his critical structure, sought to apply it (as he had occasionally done himself), to Balladry and Song texts, in the hope that as he had scored so often against the Scots, with Stenhouse as figurehead, similar results might be obtained against all Scottish editors and collectors from Ramsay to Buchan.

Mr. Chappell, who had been editor of The Ballad Society's reprint of the great Roxburghe collection of broadside Ballads, retired from that position after the issue of Volume III., in 1880. He was succeeded by his friend the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth (who had edited, for the same Society, John Bagford's collection of broadside ballads) and this erudite, if eccentric, mortal continued the work to the end—adding five volumes to Chappell's three—when the Ballad Society became defunct. Mr. Ebsworth had adopted his predecessor's assumption, that the earliest print or MS. must be the original of all successive prints of the same or similar subject matter; and (neglecting circumstantial and internal evidence almost entirely) in the melange of editorial notes which characterises all his work, he fre-

* The late Mr. John Glen, of Edinburgh, in his "Early Scottish Melodies" (1900), has met Chappell on his own ground, and successfully assailed many of his positions.

quently pushes that assumption to an extreme bordering on the ridiculous. It is but just, however, to say that no man of his time, or we may say of any time, had such a knowledge of *printed* broadside ballads and songs as Mr. Ebsworth. He was, unquestionably, fully and intimately acquainted with them in their many thousands. No one was ever more faithful than he in reprinting every word of the original texts he undertook to edit, and all his editorial work was done gratis,—for sheer love of the subject. In these respects he was an ideal editor, and threw a world of light into many of the subjects he handled. His prejudices, however, were too strong for his judgment. They distorted and coloured every object he looked upon, when they were aroused. What was stated on one page as "a probability," was assumed on some subsequent page as "an actuality," and spoken of accordingly. He never makes any allowance for personal bias in his deliverances,—and they sorely need it, as we shall see in the sequel. As to our Scottish Collectors and Editors of traditionary balladry, they frequently affect him as a red rag does a bull. "The cool manner," he says (speaking of some items in broadsides or in D'Urfey's "Pills to Purge Melancholy"), "in which these ditties were lifted by Caledonian freebooters . . . need surprise no one;" —and again he speaks of "Scotland's lifting and resetting of such portable property as she can lay hands on in the way of Ballads, . . . or authorship of popular poems . . . all being grist that goes to her mill . . . [her Editors] disfiguring what they steal

as gipsies do the children they kidnap,"—and so on, and so on. Slashings like these come up again and again in his editorial notes, launched against almost every Scottish collector from Ramsay to Buchan. Buchan of course is "fraudulence personified"—but *how*, is forgotten to be mentioned. Others of these are sometimes hailed as "true searchers and recorders," while further on we come on the same persons branded as "thieves and conveyancers of stolen property," just as suits the Ebsworthian whim of the moment. Again a considerable number of his editorial deliverances, anent the supposed indebtedness of Burns to black letter balladry, were picked up by Messrs. Henley and Henderson when editing the Centenary Edition of that poet's Poems and Songs—and will be found to give bulk, if not backbone, to their notes on the Song section of the poet's works. They allow, however, the possibility and likelihood of Scottish forerunners now and again, as the basis on which the ballad-maker may have wrought.* We mean in these notes to examine in some detail a few of these editorial deliverances, and to show how unsatisfactory and shadowy they are as foundations on which has been built up an indictment of Scotland and Scotsmen in connection with matters of their Ballad and Song literature. Before doing so, how-

*Mr. Henderson's personal attitude to this question of Scottish *v.* English originals, was more fully stated in his "Scottish Vernacular Literature," pp. 375-81, and makes a nearer approach to what is probably true than what one could gather from the prolix notes to volume III. of "Burns' Works," issued under the joint editorship.

ever, we must first call our reader's attention to some of the conditions which in a great measure have determined the distinctive characters of Scottish and English Ballad Literature.

Early Conditions affecting Balladry in England and Scotland (16th and 17th Centuries)

Music and song of some kind or another are common to every phase of society through which man has passed from the most primitive to the more complex. For despite the dreams of "a state of nature," by which Rousseau fascinated a past generation,—and which survive still in the picturesque twilight of some of our modern poetry,—we have no knowledge of man outside some form of society; and wherever we find him, dance, music, and song are forms or modes in which he expresses his more intense and exalted emotions. The phenomena of nature too, under which he lives and moves, and the particular form of society into which he is born, have a powerful if indirect influence on the character and quality of his song-craft,—because said phenomena and social form are determining elements in the character of his emotions fundamentally. It is here that we find the tap-root of that romanticism and "glamourie" which so distinguishes the folk-poetry of Scotland from that of England, and which colours the songs and ballads of the north when compared with those of the southern sister Kingdom. While

both nations have the roots of their romantic balladry deep in the folk-lore, common, at least, to northern Europe,—Scotland seems to have preserved more of it than England has done, owing, no doubt, to the fact that her ballad-lore remained much longer in the simple traditional state. Nothing gave the death-blow more completely to the supposed importance, which Mr. Ebsworth placed on dates of printed or manuscript versions in determining the age of a ballad, than the fact made plain in Professor Child's great work that our popular balladry is but developments and varieties of a folk-song core, lost in the mists of antiquity, and almost world-wide. This was "the unpardonable sin" in the eyes of Mr. E., who never lost an opportunity of sneering at, and making contemptuous remarks regarding Child's work, even when he had little occasion to mention it.*

The foremost of all the conditions which differentiate the ballad and song literature of Scotland from that of England was probably the fact that in Scotland, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, the great body of its song-lore passed from singer to singer, age after age, without the medium of print or recorded copy. This, in itself, turned out to be a valuable condition, of great importance in the final outcome. For passing, as we have said, from singer to singer, through many generations these ballads and songs continued, as it were, in a plastic, semi-fluid state, partaking of betterment (in form and expression at least), in passing through refined mouths, and, un-

*Rox. Bals., Vol. VI., p. 600, Vol., VIII., p. cxxv.

fortunately, subject also to degradation in passing through vulgar and coarse mouths. Evidence of this may be had in abundance in the pages of Professor Child's "English and Scottish Popular Ballads." Also we must remember that improvisation and impromptu adaptation were far more common among rural maidens and mothers in Scotland, during the centuries that are past, than they are now. These characteristics of the people lingered even after the circulation of printed ballads and songs in Chap Books and Garlands became the rule, and the professional collector had taken the field. In point of fact these gifts have only died out with the old-world mothers who nursed and suckled their own off-spring. Every Scotsman old enough to remember the mothers and nurses of fifty or sixty years ago, with their tenacious memories, and ready faculty for lilting and adapting old-world songs, while they fondled, soothed, or amused their young charges, can readily understand the great influence which such gifts would exercise on traditionary song. No such thing is heard now—the gift seems lost, or is only found in the most outlying districts. Printed song and ballad, with changed domestic habits, have slowly killed it out. Nevertheless, these characteristics when in full play in former generations, helped largely to keep alive the great body of native minstrelsy, romantic, humorous, pathetic and ribald, tapped by Ramsay, Herd, Yair, Burns, and others in the eighteenth century, and which is now finally fixed for all time in the collections of these and subsequent workers in the great field of

traditionary song. How it came about that this vast body of verse remained so long in the plastic state, unfixed, unprinted, while English ballads and songs enjoyed the wide circulation and relative permanence of print, in Broadsheets, Garlands, and Drolleries, must now be touched upon.

From "Barbour's Bruce," written in 1375,—"Wyntoun's Chronicle" (1420), down through various manuscripts and other records, we learn that it was a common practice of the people to sing songs about contemporary events, from the time of Alexander III. (1249-85), onwards,—and many names of such songs are preserved, as then popular, in "Cockelby's Sow" (1424-37), "Douglas's Translation of Virgil" (1513), "The Complaint of Scotland" (1549), "The Gude and Godly Ballads" (1540-60),—showing that a large collection of traditionary song existed among the people of Scotland down through all these years. At the period of the Reformation, we also learn from Knox, numerous ballads connected with the life at Holyrood, as well as "against the preachers" were very common among the people; but these like most of the earlier ones have not come down to us in recognisable form. However, the faculty and practice of song-craft were there in full swing, and, to judge from some fragments of popular poetry printed by Chepman and Myllar which have come down to us, it is quite possible that a trade in printed balladry was in process of formation, but the young printing-press, so recently brought into the country, had, mainly for politico-theological party purposes, to be muzzled in its operations, and muzzled it was.

Early, both in England and Scotland, during troublesome times the eye of the law was directed to the printed broadsheet as a formidable and powerful agent in popular movements, and from 1533 "minstrels, ballad-singers, and ballad printers" came into bad repute, and proclamations, suppressing the printing of "ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue," were again and again issued in England. Similar enactments, but far more drastic in their penalties, were issued in Scotland from 1543 to 1567. In the former year the Privy Council enacted *the death penalty* against "makers, writers, or imprinters of ballatts,"—(special mention being made of "ane ballat callit *The Bair*"). In the latter year the same penalty was extended to those who, *seeing* such ballads, did not destroy them. No doubt in both countries it was the satirical party-ballad, with its bitter, rancorous slander and personal spitefulness, that came more particularly under the ban of the law. The romantic and quasi-historical ballad, and the common songs of the people might have flourished in peace but for the puritanical zeal of the Kirk, when it came into power, against "all sic as make themselves fules, and are bards . . . minstrels, sangsters, and tale-tellers." The Kirk, which ultimately controlled, or strove to control the whole domestic and family life of the people, was furious against what they were pleased to call "profane and ungodly sangs,"—and the popular muse had perforce to lie low. Scotland also was, financially, a poor country, —had at most but two or three printers within her

borders (often no more than *one* can be traced),*—and it was only through the divided state of parties after the murder of Darnley, and that the author was writing on the side of the more powerful faction, that the printer (Lekpreuik) escaped for printing the "Sempill Ballads" of these days. Those of our readers who desire to find specific examples of the brutal manner in which the Scots Acts against ballad writers were carried out should consult "The Diurnall of Occurents, 1513-75"; "The History of King James the Sext"; and "Calderwood's History."

Turning now to England, we find the printed ballad, the professional ballad-maker, and the ballad singer, early and permanent institutions. At the time when Scotland could boast of only one printer, London alone had some forty recorded ballad-printers, exercising their calling, with a large number of professional ballad writers, among whom are some names otherwise not unknown in the minor literature of the time. When Elizabeth came to the throne, the laws against balladry were relaxed, or at least they were not enforced as they formerly had been, so that the trade suffered little or no embarrassment in the pursuit of their calling, till Puritanism became a power. Even then, the printing trade was so strong, and the ballad broadsheet such a recognised institution in the country, that puritan restrictions had less effect on their circulation than on their subject-matter. The subjects dealt with became more dolorous, dreary, and

* See Dickson and Edmond's "Annals of Scottish Printing"—Article "John Scot," p. 154.

dismal. Solemn warnings against the vices and corruptions of the times,—prodigies and monstrous births made visible,—pious exhortations, divine judgments, and such-like, became more in evidence than ever, but otherwise the output slackened very little. When "the Merry Monarch" came to his own and the Rebellion and Protectorate were things of the past—the old trade in "high-kilted" balladry increased by leaps and bounds, and ballad-makers and printers throve as they never throve before. Thus early in England did printed Ballads usurp the place in the popular mind which should have been sacred to traditionary song; so that apart from the cycle of Robin Hood ballads (also early fixed in type), not much of our English collections can claim to be *of* the people, though certainly all were *for* the people. Balladry never was a trade in Scotland,—it early became such in England, with results very visible on the song-craft of the two nations as we know it today. This *trade* aspect of broadside ballad and song should never be lost sight of when discussing the relative claims of Scottish and English merits or demerits in the final output,—for in England the broadsheet was simply an early form of newspaper for the common people. Every variety of past and present news, murders, battles, providential visitations, monstrous births, warnings, merry tales, love, marriage, strange adventures, and miscellaneous sculduddery were dished up in all sorts of singable rhymes, by hack writers, for the great public, the common people of the time. The enormous circu-

lation they had all over the country can only be approximately realised now; yet when we consider that consisting of single leaves, and fragile as we know all such to be, there are still in existence some five or six thousand in our public and private libraries issued between 1550 and 1700,—the original output must have been very great. Of ballad printers, issuing in the 17th century alone, Mr. Chappell gives a list of some 250, while of one of these, William Thackeray, there is a printed list extant of the ballads he had on sale, numbering over 300 separate items. From this it will be seen what a great trade must have been done during the later Stuart times. Most of the ballads printed as broadsheets have no date, but approximations may be made where printers' names and places have been preserved. Generally speaking, the form of imprint "Imprinted at London" belongs to the reign of Elizabeth or earlier; "Printed at London" belongs to the reign of James I; and "London, printed for" belongs to the latter part of the 17th century.

Of Professional Ballad-Writers

Of the professional ballad-writer, Braithwaite,* in his "Whimzies, or a new Cast of Characters," 1631, describes him as "a penurious poet, of whom he partakes in nothing but his povertie." He is just the same sort of rogue as Ben Jonson's "Nightingale," or Shakespeare's "Autolycus." He belongs to the "guild of rogues and vagabonds," and is always in

*Quoted in Bagford Ballads, p. 1113.

touch with some of them. Under the inspiration of "a great potte, a toast and a pipe" at some "blind ale-house," he splices what he has pilfered from some other body into a grand new ballad—is "great in stanzas which halt and hobble as lamely as the one-legged Cantor who is to sing them." The writer declares that "impudence is his best conductor,—ignorance his best instructor,—and indigence his best protector,"—and winds up by saying, "get his poor corpse a sheet to shroud him in at his dying, he gets more than his muse could ever make him worth while he was living." In London, members of the fraternity, as singers, had to take out a licence from the Master of the Revels. Stubbs in his "Anatomie of Abuses," mentions "such drunken sockets and bawdie parasites as range the countreyes rhyming and singing of unclean, corrupt, and filthy songes, in tavernes, innes, and other publique assemblies." Mr. Ebsworth, speaking of the practice of this fraternity of "snappers-up of unconsidered trifles," says, that "music and song composed for the court soon found its way to the country; what pleased the gentry in the Theatre was amplified by the ballad maker, and brought to the populace." *(Rox. Bal. VI., p. xxiii).* "Then, as now, whenever any popular success was achieved, a number of unscrupulous imitators, rivals, and pirates rushed forward to receive a share of the plunder. The gang of pilferers, unable to originate, would steal from one another like so many sparrows." *(Rox. Bal. VI., p. 252).* In the work of these men, we come, very frequently, across old refrains, choruses, snatches of verse, echoes of song

phrases, burdens and such-like, as "O the broom the bonnie bonnie broom" and its varieties,—"Hey, O, my Nanny O,"—"I cannot come ilka day to woo,"—"What can a young lassie do wi' an old man?"—the numerous "rose and let me in" songs,—"Go from my window" and "open the door" songs (in many forms). These fragments, which look, on the face of them, as belonging to older songs, come up again and again over the whole field of broadside balladry, and the ballads they are now embedded in are frequently, but erroneously, supposed by Ebsworthians to be the originals of later printed Scottish versions, while, very probably, they are merely snatches of folksong current with the whole Saxon population in Scotland and the north of England, picked up by the ballad-maker of the time as likely to help in making a saleable singable ballad. The intercourse between England and Scotland after James I. came to the united crown, was considerably greater than we are apt to imagine. No doubt there were feelings on both sides which made for estrangement, but these are frequently made more of than all the facts justify. One of the minor links of persistent intercourse belongs to our present subject, viz., the wandering habits of the vagabond class of ballad-singers on both sides of the Border, who as mendicants, hawkers, and minstrels, carried the respective song-lore of both countries across the debatable land, and well into the more peaceful regions beyond. Other means of transmission there may have been, when we find Sempill's ballad on the Death of Darnley reprinted in London so soon after it appeared in

Scotland. But it is only on the ground of a general passing and repassing of the ballad hawker and singer, that we can account for English ballads passing as far north as Aberdeenshire as early as 1620, and purely traditionary Scottish ballads and fragments of ballads being printed in England from about the same time onwards, and often in the nonsensical form given to the northern dialect in some of these prints. We have ourselves gleaned from the lips of singers in outlying districts of Aberdeenshire versions of "Hey any work for a Cooper," "The Beggar's rise and fall," and other purely English ballads; which had become localized and distinctly traditionary in the district, and sung, time out of mind, by a peasantry who knew nothing of their southern origin. Now the same channels which brought English ballad, song, and music into Scotland, could equally convey Scottish song, ballad, and music into England, and our acquaintance with the multifarious contents of the Roxburghe, Bagford, and other great collections amply confirms this expectation. It is very early impressed on a reader, that not only did Scottish traditionary song find its way into the printed stock of the English ballad-monger, but the printed texts of English ditties found their way in broadsheet and chap-book into Scotland, and in the after course of transmission from mouth to mouth, did in time become, in a real, if secondary sense, traditional among the people, subject to all the variations for betterment or degradation which such a method of transmission necessarily involves. It is this action and reaction of traditional and printed texts during well nigh three

hundred years which presents the greatest difficulty that collectors of folk-song meet, and debars any hard and fast deliverance on origins. The whole nature of the case should have led Mr. Ebsworth to have been more sparing in his charges of "theft," "pillage," "property conveyed," "lifting," "resetting," etc., etc. by "Caledonian freebooters." The liftings and conveyings of popular songs and tunes seem to have been as common south of the Border as north of it, and they were never improved in their adopted southern vesture, though invariably they have been bettered by their acquiring a northern dress. It seems quite evident also from Mr. Ebsworth's own statements, that there was no recognised property in songs and ballads by those who prepared broadsheets for the English market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Songs by Dryden, D'Urfey, and other contemporaries were taken and spun out, while popular poems which were too long, were boiled down to the required broadsheet length; everything by which he could turn a penny being grist to the mill of the ballad-monger. *(Rox. Bal. VI., pp. 20-178).* Taking all these considerations into account, we hold that even on Mr. Ebsworth's own showing, there is a strong presumption in favour of the view that any likeness, in whole or part, between English broadside balladry and Scottish traditional versions, occurs through the appropriations, by the ballad-maker, of matter picked up from itinerant singers, and utilized by him in his professional workings.

Tom D'Urfey

The many songs, good, bad and indifferent, which have been attributed to Tom D'Urfey, and a number of which were spun out by the hack-writers into ballads, must now be looked at, as the claims set up for this writer, and the accounts given of him by Mr. Ebsworth in the "Dictionary of National Biography," the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and in the pages of the Roxburghe and the Bagford Ballads, require certain "per contra" statements to be set against them, if we are to approximate to the truth regarding him and the worth of his writings. All through the editorial notes of the Roxburghe and the Bagford Ballads, scattered in snippets over some six thousand pages, we learn a good deal more of D'Urfey than the editor utilizes in his formal biographies of him. But the dominant feature in all his deliverances is the personal gusto and admiration with which he views Tom's doings on the field of song-craft:—

"We may as well confess that we retain a strong liking for Tom D'Urfey; as did most of his contemporaries. It is quite true that he was not a rigid moralist, so far as his Songs, Plays, and Tales are to be taken in evidence. . . . What then? There is other food for grown men than 'Revalentia Arabica,' excellent though it may be for infants before their teething; and even Tom D'Urfey will not disagree with us, if our digestion be sound, and doctors leave us unvisited. His offences against decency were no barrier to his social reputation." *Bagford Ballads, 1878, Vol. I., p. 86.*

Thus far the reverend gentleman goes in defence of D'Urfey's smut; but forgets that there were social reputations and social reputations, then, as now. He also asserts again and again that D'Urfey and Ramsay were personal friends, had met and corresponded—and that Allan printed his friend's songs without acknowledgment, though he knew that they were his, "all being fish that came to his net, especially if supposed to come from D'Urfey."

"Amusing would it be to trace the direct intercourse which had probably existed, in his closing years, between D'Urfey and Allan Ramsay. Letters crossed betwixt them after they had met personally. But capricious Chronos, while preserving no end of antiquarian lumber, cancels the Diaries and Letters that we most covet." *Rox. Ballads VII., p. 303.*

"Sympathy held together two diverse song writers; the lively D'Urfey, 'the cur, half French, half English breed!' dramatic jester of London theatres—and Allan Ramsay, the Edinburgh wig-maker, true poet of 'The Gentle Shepherd,' cunning craftsman with razor, pen and brush" [?]. *Rox. Ballads VIII., p. 450.*

In articles on D'Urfey, contributed to "The Dictionary of National Biography" and "The Encyclopedia Britannica," by the same writer, similar assertions are made *without any qualification such as the "probably" of his earliest statement.* We are now bluntly told that "D'Urfey certainly visited Edinburgh,—perhaps more than once,—and made close acquaintance with Allan Ramsay early in the 18th century at his shop in the Luckenbooths." This must have been a visit from the other world, as Tom

died in 1723, and Allan removed to the Luckenbooths in 1726!* But the whole of these statements are mere conjecture—no tittle of evidence has yet been found to show that these song-writers knew one another personally. Any inference that can be drawn from the facts we know, points the other way—not in the direction of personal acquaintance.† Ramsay was, relatively speaking, unknown to fame beyond the locality he lived in, till after D'Urfey's death, the publications which really spread his name abroad,—"The Tea-Table Miscellany,"—"The Evergreen,"—and the "Gentle Shepherd" being issued in 1724-25.

It may not be out of place here to note concisely the position which D'Urfey occupied in the literary life of his time, and see how far he was removed from the practices of those ballad-mongers described above, for from all accounts literary honesty was at a low ebb, all round, among popular writers of "the

*"Chalmers' Life of Ramsay," prefixed to his edition of the "Poems," 2 Vols., London, 1800. Vol. I., p. xxxix.

†The only instance that we are acquainted with, in which D'Urfey's name is mentioned by Ramsay, is where he quotes as a motto, on the title page of his "Scriblers Lash'd," 1720, the following stanza:—

"You write Pindaricks! and be d——n'd,
Write Epigrams for Cutlers;
None with thy Nonsense will be sham'd,
But Chamber Maids, and Butlers.
In t'other World expect dry Blows,
No Tears shall wipe thy Stains out:
Horace shall pluck thee by the Nose
And Pindar beat thy Brains out.

T. BROWN TO DURFY."

Merry Monarch's" day. Tom, intended for the law, entered one of the Inns of Court,—but the theatres, and the jolly good life of the times suited his tastes better, and he took to these. He was a genuine product of the Restoration,—fond of women, wine and dress,—was an excellent, cheery companion, could sing a lively, smutty song well, and fell into writing what he called poetry. He used in after life, when down in his luck, to speak of himself as having "written more Odes than Horace, and four times as many Comedies as Terence." He was a great favourite with Charles II., who liked his smut and his singing, but whether Tom had guineas equivalent to the praise he is said to have had from his royal patron is doubtful, for it has been recorded that "he existed for forty-six years on the chance profits of the stage, —on benefit nights,—on money any bookseller might give him for copy,—on the sale of his songs,—and the bounty of patrons." He was thus, to a certain extent only sharing the common lot of the literary hack of his time. His genius was not to make literature either in drama or song,—but to make folk laugh,—and he succeeded. Langbane, writing in 1691,* speaks of him as "a person now living, who was first bred to the law, but left that rugged way for the flowery fields of poetry. He is accounted by some as an admirable Poet, but it is by those who are not acquainted much with authors, and are therefore deceived by appearances, taking that for his own which he only borrows from others,—for Mr. D., like the cuckoo, makes it

*An Account of English Dramatick Poets, Oxon., 1691.

his business to suck other birds' eggs." Another contemporary (Giles Jacob), writing in 1719,* says of him,—"he has shown himself a notable plagiary in a great many of his performances," and backs up this statement by giving a detailed list of his pilferings from then living and prior writers. In a satirical squib of the time, Tom appears as "Poet Stutter," and it is there said of him,—"if every bird claimed his feather, Stutter would be naked." Chappell, and even Mr. Ebsworth himself, allow that he appropriated and adapted songs written by others; re-dishing to meet the current taste such well-known pieces as "The Milking Pail," "Hey, boys, up go we," "The Wedding of Jockey and Jenny," and others, which they name. In fact any songs of his, not founded on the work of some prior writer, or not adapted from some traditional song he may have heard sung, would never have lived at all, apart from the airs to which they were set by Purcell, Playford or other musicians of the time. Yet the writings of this notorious plagiary are set up by Mr. Ebsworth as being very frequently the originals, and genuine begetters of some of the most permanent items in our Scottish Collections. On the very face of it, such a thing looks extremely doubtful. D'Urfey, we admit, could readily adapt for his purposes, anything which had an element of popularity in it, in words or air,—but beyond his being thus a successful caterer for the class who enjoyed high-kilted and highly spiced tit-bits in song, we can find

* "Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets," 1719.

nothing at all in his writings worthy of life. Most of them died even before the foul-mouthed taste which brought them into being had finally passed away,—and they are all now as dead as a door-nail, except to the student of Restoration song-craft. Of course "Scotch Songs" were written by others besides D'Urfey—for everything Scottish, in song, ballad or music, was in great demand in the London entertainments—but these spurious concoctions bear such head-mark that nobody, who is anybody, north of the Tweed, can be deceived by them.* How the vernacular was murdered in these "Anglo-Scotch" botches, mattered little to the writers thereof,—it passed muster with their Cockney audiences, and that was enough for them. D'Urfey, however, in a number of instances, was wiser than his contemporary competitors in this line, in so far as he occasionally grafted his rubbish on some fragments of traditional song-lore,—and these ditties have a character quite different from his own original work. The man who wrote "Woe is me, what mun I doe," "Jockey was a dawdy lad," "Lads and lasses blith and gay," "Deil tak' the wars," "'Twas within a furlong of Edinborough town," and "Pretty Kate of Edinbrough," when working in his own metal, shows, pretty conclusively, that in the better work claimed for him, it is highly probable that some other body's muse

*Of these, Ritson remarks, "It is hard to say whether wretchedness of poetry, ignorance of the Scotish dialect, or nastiness of ideas is most evident or most despicable." *Scotish Songs, Vol. I., p. xl.*

must have been levied into the service. The very fact that a number of hack-writers, with D'Urfey as principal, produced the rubbish known as Anglo-Scotch songs, implies, that *genuine* Scotch songs had a vogue so great in London, that it paid them to write imitations; and where they could not originate they as a matter of course helped themselves to whatever traditional stuff came their way, in the hope of sharing in the profits which the popularity of Scotch songs made possible. Hence also the many broadsheets in which we can trace fragments of songs and ballads recovered more fully from tradition in Scotland, many years after. Claims of authorship, however, are not always made by D'Urfey, but Mr. Ebsworth has persistently done so for him. We admit that "among the songs which he wrote, are a few of the originals which, when a little chastened and purified, became favourites of the whole Scottish nation,"* but not to the extent which Mr. Ebsworth would have us believe. The final publication of "Wit and Mirth, or Pills to purge Melancholy," 6 Vols., 1719-20, superintended by D'Urfey for his friend Playford, was as a work, avowedly a collection of pieces by various hands, except Vols. 1 and 2, which were composed of Songs, Prologues and Epilogues, said to be entirely the work of the editor.† Other examples of his song adaptations may possibly occur throughout the other volumes, but it was there the work he laid claim to, certainly appears. "The secret," says Mr. Chappell,

*Bagford Ballads, p. 89.

†Bagford Ballads, p. 86. Dict. of Nat. Biography—article "D'Urfey."

"of D'Urfey's popularity as a song-writer lay in the selection of his tunes. He trenched on the occupation of the professed ballad-writers, by adopting the airs which had been their exclusive property; altering them to give them as his own. If the reader will compare 'The Milkmaids Life' with D'Urfey's 'Bonny Milkmaid' he will see how these transformations were effected; and there are many similar examples in the 'Pills'."*

From this, and what has been already said about the channels through which the respective ballads and songs of the two countries have come down to us —our readers will be prepared to value in detail some of the charges brought by Mr. Ebsworth against Scottish editors and their collections of traditionary song. Mr. Ebsworth's strictures are scattered through the vast mass of notes to the Bagford and the Roxburghe Ballads (8162 pp.), and although in the final volume of the last named work, he modifies and sometimes retracts in a way, his former deliverances, yet few have the patience to wade through, gather, collate, and verify all these multitudinous references, so as to get at the truth. The field is ample, but life is short, and we can only touch on a few points here and there, and register conclusions we have come to regarding what we deem unfounded assertions and inconsequent arguments. Every true lover of our Scottish minstrelsy should be interested in this matter.

We begin with his charges against Allan Ramsay. As we have already noted (p. 215), the main charge

* Popular Music of the Olden Time, p. 623.

which Mr. Ebsworth makes against Ramsay is, that he appropriated, and altered, songs written by D'Urfey without acknowledging their authorship, although he knew that they were written by him. That Ramsay altered many of the songs which he printed in his "Miscellany" is plainly avowed, and reasons are given for doing so, in the preface to the first volume of that work; and, be it remembered, this editorial work of his was one of the elements which gave popularity and permanence to his collection. But whatever value we may place on his work, we see no reason for suspecting his literary honesty. When he published, he supplied a key indicating in a general way the kind of editing to which the songs had been subjected:—"Z," meant an old song;—"X," author unknown;—and "Q," old song with additions. In the contents appended to the fifth edition (1729), we have not only the above marks noted, but a list of Ramsay's own contributions, and one of "Auld sangs brush'd up, some of them with additions by the Publisher." This refers to volumes one and two of the collection.* The ethics of modern editorial work had not then dawned on literary men. Besides, Ramsay's aim does not seem to have been towards the conservation of songs, simply because they were old, but rather of songs, old or new, sufficiently free from grossness and filth (too common in the byegone days), to allow them to be sung by any one in love with the airs then popular in

*As the pagination of many of the early editions differs considerably, all our references to Volumes I., II. and III., are to the 1729 edition. When we refer to Volume IV., it is to the 1760 edition of the complete work.

Scotland. And he succeeded. No song book known to us has passed through so many editions, or has retained its place so firmly in public favour as "The Tea-Table Miscellany." Ramsay must not be blamed because he was not a literary antiquarian, nor because he declined to print songs not "brush'd up" or made relatively decent.

In dealing with Ramsay and his Miscellany, Mr. Chappell, being less vitriolic in temper than his friend Mr. Ebsworth, has been more temperate and fair in his judgments. Commenting on Ritson's statement that "the language of the lowland Scots was always called 'English' by their own writers till a late period," Mr. Chappell goes on to say, "in the early part of the [eighteenth] century this use of the word 'English' was altogether dropped, and 'Scots Sangs' included not only songs written by Scotsmen whether in the lowland dialect or in English, but also the meaning was extended to any purely English songs that were popular in Scotland." This no doubt is correct,—but he goes on further and says that "Allan Ramsay entitled his Tea-Table Miscellany 'a collection of Scots Sangs,' the preponderance in his first two volumes (of which the work originally consisted) being Scotch. Although it was soon extended to three volumes, and the third was entirely English, still the exclusive title of 'Scots Sangs' was retained."* This is not correct. In the fifth edition of the three volumes, reprinted at Dublin in 1729, the title pages of the first two volumes bear, each of them, as sub-

* "Popular Music of the Olden Time," p. 609.

title, "a complete collection of Scots Sangs," and the *third* volume has for sub-title, "a collection of Celebrated Songs." After 1740, when the four volumes were issued together, on every edition that we have seen, the sub-title runs, "a Collection of Choice Songs, Scots and English."* This error led Mr. Chappell *(Rox. Bal., III., p. 668)* to blame Ramsay with appropriating his friend Gay's ballad of "Black-eyed Susan" and printing it as Scotch. It appeared in Vol. III., Song vii., and was therefore outwith the Scotch collection.

"*The Loving Lass and Spinning Wheel.*"

We will now look at a few particulars dealt with by Mr. Ebsworth. In *Bagford Ballads, Vol. I., p. 19,* is a lengthy note to "The Bonny Scot and yielding Lass," (the gist of which note is again repeated in *Roxburghe Ballads, Vol. III., p. 398),* in which Ramsay is blamed for appropriating this ballad, and inserting it in the "Tea-Table Miscellany, p. 177," as "*The loving Lass and Spinning Wheel,*" knowing it to be an Anglo-Scotch song by Tom D'Urfey. It opens:

"As I sat at my spinning wheel,
A bonny lad was passing by;
I view'd him round, and lik'd him weel,
For trouth he had a glancing eye.
My heart new panting 'gan to feel,
But still I turn'd my spinning wheel."

T. T. Misc., p. 177.

*The first volume was issued in 1724,—a second in 1725,—a third in 1727,—and a fourth about 1740.

Now the earliest mention we have of the ballad of "The Bonny Scot and yielding Lass" is found in the title of an "Answer" to it, printed by P. Brooksby [1685-8], and sung to the tune of "*The Spinning Wheel.*" This shows that a ballad of that name was already well known, and its popularity is vouched for by the fact that the same printer, during the same period, issued half-a-dozen different ballads all sung to the same tune [*Bibliotheca Lindesiana*]. The only copy of the "Bonny Scot," however, that has come down to us was printed by P. Brooksby's successor, E. Brooksby [1703], though from the fact that on the face of the ballad are the initials of a licencer of P. Brooksby's time, we may infer that it is a re-issue of one of his ballad stock with a new imprint. As to D'Urfey's claim to its authorship, it must be borne in mind that it appeared in Vol. III. (p. 88) of "Pills to Purge Melancholy," 1719, but that, of itself, does not necessarily mean that it was written by him, any more than that it was written by Ramsay, because it appeared in *his* collection of songs. The "Pills" was a collection, exactly in the same sense as the "Miscellany" was one. It is a well known fact that "D'Urfey's own songs filled the first two volumes with a few of his poems and prologues at the end,"*—or, as Mr. Ebsworth otherwise puts it, "in the collective edition, 1719, the two early volumes were restricted to his own songs"†; so it has been always understood that the songs in the succeeding volumes are mainly

*"Dict. of Nat. Biography—D'Urfey."

†"Rox. Bal., Vol. VIII., p. 456."

collected from other writers, but possibly touched up by D'Urfey. If there is no other evidence (and we have met with none) of D'Urfey's authorship than that the song and tune of "The Spinning Wheel" appeared in "Pills"—then we cannot accept it. That he did write a song on *this same subject*, and to the *same tune*, is true, and it will be found among his own stuff in Vol. II., *p. 176*—but it is not the same song as the one Ramsay printed, though distinctly a paraphrase of it. It begins:—

> "Upon a sunshine Summers day,
> When every tree was green and gay;
> The morning blusht with *Phœbus* ray,
> Then just ascending from the Sea:
> As Silvia did a hunting ride,
> A lovely Cottage he espied;
> Where lovely *Chloe* Spinning sat,
> An still she turn'd her wheel about,"—

and so on, the details of the story being exactly the same as in Ramsay's song, but given in the true D'Urfian manner. His avowed authorship of this silly "sunshine summer's day" song is, in itself, a strong presumption against his being the writer of the older and better ditty. We therefore hold the claim, which has been made for him being the author of the Ramsay text, as not proven. Whoever the author may be, we think that the ballad of "The Bonny Scot" is only a reprint of a popular anonymous song, "The Spinning Wheel," common to the people from Forth to Humber. It is too good for D'Urfey. One has only to read the broadside of "The Bonny Scot," and then "The Answer to the Bonny Scot," and strong

suspicions are at once aroused that the former does not belong to the same family as the latter, but has a better original. As a straw may show how the wind blows, so the appearance of

"Now speed the wheel my bonny maid"

for,

"Now speed thee weel my bonny maid,"

has significance for those who have tried to take down from a singer the words of a song sung. It is included in the contents of Ramsay's Vol. II. as "an old song brush'd up." His alterations are distinct improvements on the text of "Pills,"—where it is given as "a Scotch Song," and not under the ballad-maker's title.

"*She rose and let me in.*"

"The night her silent Sable wore,
And gloomy were the Skies;
Of glitt'ring Stars appear'd no more
Than those in Nelly's eyes.
When at her Father's Yate I knock'd,
Where I had often been,
She, shrowded only with her Smock,
Arose and loot me in."

T. T. Misc., p. 128.

That this song was printed as "The Generous Lover" in "a collection of Songs and Poems by T. D'Urfey, Gent. London 1683"—there is no doubt, be it by that writer or not. That it was issued as a broadsheet ballad, with added verses, under title of "The Kind Lady" *(Rox. Bal., VI., p. 194)* about the same time, is also true. In notes, and additional notes to the ballad, Ebsworth pours out the vials of

his wrath, on Scotsmen, in a perfect torrent. Stenhouse and James Paterson, who claimed the song for Francis Sempill, of Beltrees, and other "liars who have short memories,"—the "deluded misbelievers still lingering in Midlothian, a region where falsehood and garrulity always finds zealous worshippers," — and "Allan Ramsay," who adapted the lyric "to Edinburgh Society, alternately prim and prurient,"—and others, are more or less relevantly switched for what he deems their misdeeds in relation to this song. It is really very diverting, this old man in a rage! But "scolding is no scholarship,"—and the claim of Francis Sempill cannot be summarily set aside by simply abusing Stenhouse and Paterson. No one had a better knowledge of the traditions connected with the Beltrees family, and the district they belonged to, than James Paterson; and be he right or wrong on the point of the authorship of this song,—mere "Billingsgate" or other fishwifery can never settle it. Ramsay is charged with making a "fraudulent Scotch claim" to the song,—altering it to suit "the prim and prurient," and adding the signature "X" at the end, indicating that the author was unknown,—and astonishment is expressed that "Honest Allan" could have forgotten "that his former friend [?] Tom D'Urfey had written, printed and published the song forty years earlier." Now Ramsay made no "fraudulent Scotch claim." The popularity of the song on the north of the Tweed, and the uncritical attitude to these things common to the time, explain sufficiently its appearance among Allan's Scots Sangs.

The alterations in his text are fewer than D'Urfey himself made on it when reprinting it in "Pills," and these are not directed to the points offensive to "the prim and prurient"; some of them are Tom's own, in his 1719 reprint,—and to crown all, the signature in the "Miscellany" is not "X," but "Z," which means that the song was "old." Ramsay may have taken it from the "Pills," but he knew it was older than that publication—hence the mark. That it was originally an English song, which found early favour in Scotland, there can be no doubt, whether it was written by D'Urfey, or Sempill, or was an adaptation from something earlier.*

"*In January Last.*"

In January last,
On Munanday at Morn,
As through the Fields I past,
To view the Winter Corn,
I looked me behind,
And saw come o'er the Know,
Ane glancing in her Apron,
With a bonny brent Brow.

T. T. Misc., p. 134.

This is another of the better examples of the so-called Anglo-Scotch songs which Ramsay printed in volume II. of his "Tea-Table Miscellany," 1725 (p. 134). Ebsworth's comment on this fact is that Ramsay "adopted it unhesitatingly, all being fish

*Regarding the English claims to the tune, see "Glen's Early Scottish Melodies," p. 35.

that came into his net, especially if supposed to come from D'Urfey." In 1676 D'Urfey's comedy of "The Fond Husband; or Plotting Sisters," was published, and the song, in the earliest form we have of it, appears there. In the preface, however, the author admits that the ditty is not *all* his, by expressly stating "*a part of which was not mine*, nor do I desire any reputation from it." Part of this play-house song was picked up by a ballad-writer (1677), who added to the incident some eight verses of trash, with extra indecency, and named it "The Scotch Wedding, or a short and pretty way of Wooing" [*Rox. Bal. VIII., p. 458*]. Though D'Urfey noted in 1676 that he was only in part author of the song, we have no indication whether he was working over old material, or merely collaborating with another song-writer. Certainly he did not then claim authorship. In so far as the ballad-maker uses the text of the play-house song, it is considerably different from that which D'Urfey inserted in Vol. I. of "Pills," among his own stuff, in 1719; and further differences in the text appear in Ramsay's version, which he prints as an old song, marking it "Z," but in the contents of the 1729 Dublin edition it is noted among those "brush'd up by the publisher." Its vogue north and south of the Tweed quite justified Ramsay including it in his work as an old Scots song "brush'd up,"—for whether he knew it from "Pills" or from the broadsheet, it is in each of them called "Scotch"; and as already said, Ramsay was not critical, but only pretended to issue a good and relatively cleanly popular text. Burns is

said to have supplied a further "brush'd up" copy of Ramsay's text for Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum," where it appears under title "The glancing of her apron," Song 445. The tune to which this song was sung is a variant of what is now known as "Jock o' Hazeldean."

"*My Jo Janet.*"

"Sweet Sir, for your Courtesie,
When ye come by the *Bass* then,
For the love ye bare to me,
Buy me a Keeking-glass then.
Keek into the Draw-well,
Janet, Janet;
And there ye'll see yer bonny sell,
My Jo Janet."

T. T. Misc., p. 71.

The tune of this song is recorded in Gordon of Straloch's MS. (1627-9), as "*The Old Man,*" and in the Skene MS. (*c.* 1630), as "*Long er onie old man.*" That this last title is given from some song in Scotland, to which it was set, is evident on the face of it. That song must have been akin to the one printed by Ramsay—"a dialogue between a young lady and an old man very fond of his money," as C. K. Sharpe wrote when quoting a verse. A generation after the date of the Skene MS. an English broadside ballad, named "Jenny, Jenny; or the false-hearted Knight, and kind-hearted Lass," was printed at London 1670-80 [*Rox. Bal. VII., p. 350*]. As is customary in the broadside ballads of that time where Knights and Lasses are concerned, the fair one is brought to shame, but is quite willing to make a

bargain about it, and to take material compensation for her loss of character. The ballad-maker now pilfers, and murders in the process, four verses probably from the traditional song which Ramsay "brush'd up" and which was older than the Skene MS. The alternative tune, noted on the face of the broadsheet, points to a "Jenny, Jenny" song already known. It is quite as barefaced an appropriation as "The Merry Cuckold and Kind Wife" is of "Hame cam' our goodman at e'en." [*Rox. Bal., VII., p. 434*], or "The Scotch Wedding of Jockey and Jenny," in [*D'Urfey's Pills, V., p. 42*], is from the old Scotch "Rob's Jock cam' to woo our Jenny." The ballad-maker's own stuff is mostly unquotable here, but we give the verses he has pilfered, and it will be seen at once that it is a vamp from a confused recollection of a song not well understood:—

"May't please your kind courtesie, to gang under yonders town,
May't please your kind courtesie to buy me a Silken Gown,"
"*Mend the old one for a new,*" *quoth he*, "Jenny, Jenny!
Mend the old one for a new," *quoth he*, "Jenny, Jenny!"

"May't please you, of kind courtesie to gang into yonder Faire;
May't please your kind courtesie to buy me an ambling Mare."
"*Ride on thy Spinning-Wheel,*" *quoth he*, "Jenny, Jenny!
Ride on thy Spinning-Wheel," *quoth he*, "Jenny, Jenny!"

"I pray you will not angry be, while I beg one small Boon,
May't please your kind courtesie to buy me a pair of Shoon."
"*Let him that* [***** ****] *next shooe thee,*" *quoth he*, "Jenny, Jenny!
For thou shalt ne'r be shod by me, Jenny, Jenny!"

"Once more I beg your kind courtesie, to gang to yonders Leek,
And there do so much for me as buy me a seeing Kit."
"*Kit even in the Well,*" *quoth he*, "Jenny, Jenny,
For there thy beauty thou may'st see, Jenny, Jenny!"

In a note Mr. Ebsworth claims this as "the Anglo-Scotch original of the half-century-later Scotch song entitled 'My Jo Janet,' which Allan Ramsay printed in his 'Tea-Table Miscellany'." It is nothing of the kind. The song which Ramsay "brush'd up" and marked "Q" was in all probability the traditional one known in Scotland as "Long er onie old man," which had wandered into England, as many another had, and was appropriated by the ballad-maker for trade purposes. The clumsy way in which the whole thing is done (much inferior in form to the gross, ribald stuff of his own making), shows at once that it is an inset. "*Leek*" and "*Kit*" in the last verse tell a tale. Mr. Dick, in his notes to "Songs of Robert Burns," p. 427, says of this ballad,—"obviously an English copy of the Scots original, and relates the same incidents as those of 'My Jo Janet'." Certainly it relates some of the same incidents, but with such a difference! Another old song, of kindred character, story and refrain, is "A Cock laird fu' cadgie wi' Jenny did meet," touched up by Ramsay (*T. T. Misc.*, p. 200) from an older song. The excellent taste which he exercised in remodelling these waifs of ribald song can readily be seen by comparing the old text printed by Stenhouse* with the form Ramsay gave it in his "Miscellany."

"*Waly, Waly gin Love be Bonny.*"

O waly, waly up the bank,
And waly, waly down the brae;
And waly, waly yon burn side,
Where I and my love wont to gae.

---

* "Scots Mus. Museum," 1853, Vol. IV., p. 137.

I lean'd my back unto an aik,
I thought it was a trusty tree,
But first it bow'd, and syne it brak,
Sae my true love did lightly me.

O, waly, waly, but love be bonny,
A little time while it is new,
But when 'tis auld, it waxeth cauld,
An fades away like morning dew.
O wherefore shou'd I busk my head?
Or wherefore shou'd I kame my hair?
For my true love has me forsook,
And says he'll never love me mair.

Now Arthur-Seat shall be my bed,
The sheets shall ne'er be fyl'd by me,
Saint Anton's well shall be my drink,
Since my true love has forsaken me.
Martinmas wind, when wilt thou blaw,
And shake the green leaves off the tree?
O gentle death, when wilt thou come?
For of my life I am weary.

'Tis not the frost that freezes fell,
Nor blawing snaw's inclemency;
'Tis not sic cauld that makes me cry,
But my love's heart grown cauld to me.
When we came in by Glasgow town,
We were a comely sight to see;
My love was cled in the black velvet,
And I my sell in cramasie.

But had I wist before I kiss'd,
That love had been sae ill to win,
I'd lock'd my heart in a case of gold,
And pin'd it with a silver pin.
Oh, Oh! if my young babe were born,
And set upon the nurse's knee,
And I my sell were dead and gane,
For a maid again I'll never be.

T. T. Misc., p. 176.

This beautiful song, printed by Ramsay in the "Tea-Table Miscellany," Vol. II., 1725, must have been very popular in Scotland, for we find traces of it in traditional balladry from the Moray Firth to Galloway. Among the Laing Broadsheets there is "a new song much in request," entitled "Arthur's Seat shall be my bed," which is supposed to have been printed at Edinburgh towards the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. Dates are difficult, however, to approximate in slip-songs, where no printer's name or date is given. It consists of eleven four-line stanzas, of mixed metres, with folk-song commonplaces—and includes sixteen lines which also occur in Ramsay's text—a piece of pure ballad hawker's patchwork. We have, in a 1775 edition of the "Miscellany," a note to the song, written in a contemporary hand, which says,—"Lady Barbara, daughter to the Earl of Mar, married to the Marquis of Douglas in 1670, and separated from him through the machinations of Laurie of Blackwood." This would connect the song with the traditional ballad of "Jamie Douglas," and certainly in most of the records and fragments of that ballad printed by Child [*Popular Bal. IV., p. 90*] we find stanzas more or less akin to Ramsay's song. It was too good a thing to escape the hands of the English printer and ballad-hawker, so a version of it soon found its way into the market. We find this English "vamp" in a London song book,* in which also is Ramsay's genuine text with

* "A Collection of Diverting Songs, etc.," London, 1738, p. 503.

other songs from the "Tea-Table Miscellany," songs from "The Rump," "D'Urfey's Pills," and similar prior collections. It had probably appeared first as a slip-song, but is quite different from the Edinburgh print mentioned above. It is re-named "The Forsaken Lover," and as a typical example of how Scots Song got degraded in the hands of English printers we give it entire for purpose of comparison.

The Forsaken Lover.

I run my finger in a bush,
  Thinking the sweetest Rose to find,
I prick'd my finger to the bone,
  And left the sweetest rose behind.

If roses be such a verdant flower,
  They must be gathered when they are green,
And she that loves an unkind man,
  'Tis like striving against the stream.

Against the stream love I dare not go,
  Because the stream it runs so strong,
I'm deadly afraid I'm one of those
  That loves an unkind man too long.

I wish to Christ my babe was born,
  And smiling in his Daddy's arms,
And I myself was wrapt up in clay,
  Then should I be free from all arms.

I lean'd my back against an oak,
  Taking it for a trusty tree,
First it bent and then it broke,
  So did my false love to me.

Had I but kept my apron down,
  My love had ne'er forsaken me,
But now he walks up and down the town,
  With another harlot, and not with me.

What makes the Western winds to blow,
To blow green leaves from off the tree,
Come death, come death, and strike the blow,
For a maiden more, love, I ne'er shall be.

I cast my anchor into the sea,
And it sunk down into the sand,
And so did my heart in my body,
When I took my false love by the hand.

Ramsay's version is probably traditional,* at all events he records it as an old song by marking it "Z." It is "the lament of an unmarried woman for a lover who has proved false, and as we find by the last stanza, has left her with an unborn babe" [*Child's Popular Bal. IV., p. 92*]. The song thus differs from the ballad of "Jamie Douglas," where the speaker is a *married* woman. As late as 1810-20, verses from Ramsay's song were sung in a ballad named "False Colin," and along with other traditional verses were jumbled into a broadsheet named "The Wheel of Fortune," popular at that time with singers in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire.

"*The Broom of the Cowdenknowes.*"

"O the broom, the bonny bonny broom,
And the broom of the Cowdenknows!
And aye sae sweet as the lassie sang,
I' the bought, milking the ewes.

*Ritson calls it a production of the sixteenth century, and mentions its being "cited in a strange but curious musical medley published in 1666." *Scotish Songs*, 1794, pp. l.—ciii.

The hills were high on ilka side,
An' the bought i' the lirk o' the hill;
And aye, as she sang, her voice it rang,
Out o'er the head o' yon hill."

(*Traditional*) "*Border Minstrelsy*," 1833, Vol. III., p. 37.

"How blyth ilk morn was I to see
My Swain come o'er the Hill!
He skipt the Burn, and flew to me:
I met him with good will.

O the broom, the bonny bonny broom,
The broom of Cowdenknows;
I wish I were with my dear Swain,
With his Pipe and my Ews."

T. T. Misc., p. 22.

"Through Liddersdale as lately I went,
I musing on did passe,
I heard a maid was discontent—
she sigh'd and said, Alas!
All maids that ever deceived was,
Beare a part of these my woes,
For once I was a bonny Lasse
When I milkt my dadyes Ewes.

With O, the broome, the bonny broome,
the broome of Cowdon Knowes,
Fain would I be in the North Countrey
to milke my dadyes Ewes."

Broadside—"The Lovely Northern Lasse," 1640.

The song under this title which appeared in Ramsay, Vol. I., p. 22, is said by Mr. Henderson [*Scot. Vernacular Literature, p. 375*] to be "a vamp"

of "The Lovely Northern Lasse," a broadsheet ballad, printed by F. Coules about 1640, and sung "to a pleasant Scotch tune called The Broom of Cowdenknowes" [*Rox. Bal. I., p. 587*]. He again repeats, in his notes to the traditional ballad, in his edition of *Scott's Border Minstrelsy*, that Ramsay's version was apparently suggested by the black-letter version. It is nothing of the sort. Ramsay's is a *new* song, to that favourite air, written by "S. R." one of his poetical "young gentlemen," and has nothing in common with the broadsheet, except the first two lines of the chorus, which both writers had taken from the old traditional ballad. A later English hack-writer took up Ramsay's new version, dropped out the chorus and two verses, added one of his own, and set it going to the tune of "Thus Kitty, beautiful and young."* The chorus, both in the broadsheet and in Ramsay, belongs to the widely diffused Scottish traditional ballad, copies of which were taken down by collectors shortly after the publication of Percy's Reliques had given vogue to collecting old songs; and is still sung in outlying districts of Scotland by traditional singers. No doubt a version of this traditional ballad was known to Ramsay, but the nature of the story it tells made it unsuitable for the purpose of his "Miscellany." Hence the new words to the old tune. The English broadsheet ballad has little of a story, so little, that Child remarks, "the Scottish ballad could not have been developed from it." Chappell does not claim the

*Collection of Diverting Songs, etc., London, 1738, p. 153.

English version to be the original of the Scottish traditional one, but he endeavours to give reasons for believing that the tune is English. In this he failed. His glossing of "Scotch," which the tune is said to be on the face of the broadsheet, did not carry conviction to open minds, and as we said, he failed.

The traditional versions are all that we now have representing what was the original ballad, to the tune of which the English broadside ballad of 1640 is marked to be sung. There is, however, in all of them, such a consistency in the story, such a oneness in the mode of telling it, that there can be no doubt that they carry down to us, at least, all the essential features of the original ballad. There are variations, of course, but most of these are of minor importance. What grounds Mr. Henderson could have for speaking of Ramsay's song as "a vamp" from, or "suggested by," the English broadside printed by Coules, we have been unable to discover. The traditional ballad, Ramsay's song, and the black-letter broadsheet, are quite separate and distinct things, giving no indication (barring the chorus), of having any such derivative relationship as Mr. Henderson has recorded. The tune of "The Broom of the Cowdenknowes" was very popular with English ballad-writers, and many variations of the chorus are met with in their writings, such as :—

"The broome, the broome, the well-favoured broome,
The broom blooms fair on hill;
What ailed my love to lichtly me,
And I working her will."

"O the bryer, the bonny bonny bryer,
The bryer that was so sweet,
Would I had stayed in Lancashire
To milke my mother's neate."

And, as a parody in a play-house song:—

"The beard, the beard, the bonny bonny beard,
It was of wondrous growth."

In general, Mr. Ebsworth speaks favourably of David Herd as a collector of old-world song-lore, classing him, along with Scott, Jamieson, and Motherwell, among "true searchers and recorders."

"Honour to the memory of honest David Herd. He was the prince of trustworthy collectors" [*Bag. Bal.*, p. 979].

"David Herd, and his colleague George Paton, gave to the world, in 1769 and 1776, genuine unspoilt fragments that have been welcome for more than a century" [*Rox. Bal.*, viii., p. xliv***].

"Supreme above all other collectors were David Herd and George Paton, for they gave us unadulteratedly the genuine traditional remains of Scottish Song" [*Rox. Bal.*, viii., p. xlvi].

This is very well and as it should be. Unfortunately, however, Herd had recorded in his MS. a song beginning "How lang have I a batchelor been," followed by another "If ever there was an ill wife i' the warld," the one divided from the other by an oblique stroke. When selections from the MS. were printed in 1776, these appeared as one piece,—a printer's mistake,—for it is well known that Herd left the printing entirely in Wotherspoon's hand. When Jamieson reprinted the first song under title "Robin's

Courtship," in his "Popular Ballads and Songs," 1806 (Vol. I., p. 326), he in a note pointed out this error, and gave the two pieces separately, adding the old English version from "Wit Restored," 1658, with the the spliced ending from the Roxburghe broadsheet. When Mr. Ebsworth, in the course of his editorial labours, came to the reprinting of this English broadsheet, he comments on his "true searcher and recorder," thus :—

"We find a *Scotified* version of our Somersetshire ballad ("*The Merry Wooing of Robin and Joan*") given as *Robin's Courtship* in Herd and Mason's [?]* 'Scotch Songs,' 1776, Vol. II., p. 218, . . . but it is of no authority whatever, simply an example of theft and conveyancing. Nay more, it is a fresh instance of the truth that plagiarists are dunces, and know not how fitly to use stolen property. Such needs higher wit than they possess. David Herd and George Paton of Edinburgh maltreated the original 'Merry Wooing of West-Country Lovers' (to quote Sheridan) 'as gipsies treat stolen children : disfigured them to make them pass for their own.' They added superfluous ribaldry (*ex gratia*)." [*Rox. Bal.* VII., p. 311].

This is how he uses his erstwhile "prince of trustworthy collectors!" He took Herd to be like himself, prone to set up as a poet,—while humble David, without even so much ambition as to put his name to his publications,† was merely a collector! It

*Mason had nothing to do with it. He was a partner with Wotherspoon as printer when the 1769 volume was issued,—but was out of the firm in 1776 when the two volumes were issued.

†Mr. Henderson is not correct in saying (*Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 339) that Herd's name is attached to the two volumes of 1776. The work was anonymous, like the issue of 1769.

never dawned on Mr. Ebsworth that Herd may have only transcribed some broadsheet or slip-song that came in his way. Yet this seems to be what really occurred. The subject of the "Merry Wooing" was as likely a theme to interest Scotsmen as Englishmen, and just the thing for the professional ballad printer with an eye to trade, to translate from the Somerset dialect into the Northern doric, and so command a wider market for his wares. As printed in "Hecht's Songs from the Herd MSS.," p. 216, it is classed among the pieces from "broadsides," so that we have very good reason for believing that Herd had no hand in "scotifying" or "maltreating" the text of the "West Country Lovers." It is just another example of the eccentricity and irascibility of Mr. Ebsworth's temper over trifles,—trifles which should never disturb one's appreciation of the value and trustworthiness of Herd's collections.

In his earlier editorial work on the "Bagford Ballads," Mr. Ebsworth appears to us to show a broader, healthier outlook on similar questions when they turn up, than he has done in later instances. In discussing, for example, the possible relationship of the song, "How can I be blyth and glad," printed by Herd, 1776 (Vol. II., p. 1), to the English broadsheet, "The Unconstant Shepherd" 1690-1702 [*Bag. Bal.*, p. 978]—where the five verses of the song are embedded in pure ballad-maker's stuff, making a sheet of fifteen verses—he gives his reasons, plainly and clearly, for believing that the song derived from the ballad, and not, as one would expect, that the ballad-

maker used an old Scottish song as a basis on which to rear his broadsheet. Indeed, there is a note in Herd's MS. after verse 5, which seems to make the derivation of the song from a broadsheet evident. Its runs thus:—"I have heard several other stanzas of this, but cannot now recover them." Mr. Ebsworth indulges in no swashbucklering here about "theft," "conveyancing," or "Caledonian free-booters," and though his argument (he did not know of Herd's note), does not carry conviction with it, we can still admire its temperance and suavity. "To some," he says, "it may appear probable that the early verses are an English reproduction of a genuine Scottish song, . . . and the incongruous second part is solely the London addition. But the transformation of our lines, 29-32 (which seem to belong to the place where they appear) [in the broadsheet] must make this doubtful." Mere transposition of verses, however, would not lead us to think so. We have already, in "Waly, Waly," shown how the ballad-maker scattered verses, picked out of a Scottish song, through his own stuff; and these no doubt, to some, might "seem to belong to the place where they appear." The verses which Herd printed (no doubt from a singer), poor though they be, are sufficiently beyond the others into which they are wedged to raise suspicion that the ballad was a composite. Herd's version of the old song was taken up by Burns and made the ground-work of that exquisitely tender lyric, "The bonie lad that's far awa." [*Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum,"* No. 317]. In a lengthy note to this song in the "Centenary Burns," the editors trace

back (for centuries), in song and ballad, the refrain "O'er the hills and far awa'," as part of their proof that Burns was "indebted to a predecessor"! It is surely a case of carrying coals to Newcastle to elaborate proof of such a well-known fact—so repeatedly avowed by Burns himself.

Nanny O.

In a broadsheet entitled "*The Scotch Wooing of Willy and Nanny, to a pleasant new tune; or Nanny O*" (1685-90),* we have the earliest printed text now extant of this song. It opens thus:—

As I went out one morning fair
all in the midst of Summer spring,
There I did hear a young man lament
and to himself began to sing

It's Nanny, Nanny, Nanny O,
The love I bear to Nanny O,
All the world shall never know,
The love I bear to Nanny O.

Her cheeks, her cheeks are lilly white,
and her eyes are like the christial O,
She might have been a lord's delight,
And her name was called Nanny O.

It's Nanny, etc.

I will to her father's house,
and see what favour he will show,
That I may ride o'er yon misty moor,
all for to court my Nanny O.

It's Nanny, etc.

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* Bib. Lindesiana, No. 115. Rox. Bal. III., p. 408.

and so on, ten verses and chorus. A few items crop up in its course which point to borrowings from some older ballad—commonplace couplets from traditional song:—

"Come saddle me my milk-white steed,
the black was ne'r so bonny O."
* * *
* * *
"Some pluck up the Finkel seed, [Fennel]
and some pull up the Tansie, O,"
* * *
* * *

Then comes a verse:—

Some takes delight in cards and dice,
and other some in dancing O,
But I take delight in a bonny lass,
and her name is called Nanny O,

which, in a slightly modified form, along with the chorus, was, seventy years ago, sung in the north of Scotland as a child's game—the last stage of a decadent traditional ballad.

The whole piece is pure ballad-maker's stuff, a thing of odds and ends from traditional and other sources, made up to sing to what was then a very popular air with the ballad-singers. The choruses, "For the love I bear to Willy O,"—"Katie O," etc., which occur in the printed balladry of the time, fully attest the popularity of the air. Though the "Scotch Wooing" is now our earliest form of this song, it is certainly not, as has been claimed, the original song which Allan Ramsay or "one of his gentlemen" brush'd up for the pages of his Miscellany. His

song is *strictly a new one* to the old air, with not a drop of old blood in it except the chorus. Ramsay may have known this broadsheet, or the eighteenth century prints which derive from it, one of which is in the Herd MSS.,* and another was taken down by Buchan from recitation in the early years of last century.† Both of these give Edinburgh as the locality, while the earlier print gives Tynemouth. The topography of popular ballads is of little moment, however, unless otherwise vouched for, as the printer and singer had a business knack of suiting their wares to the locality in which they were likely to be sold. This later print begins :—

"As I came in by Edinburgh town,
And in by the banks of the city, O,
And there I heard a young man cry,
And was nae that great pity O?"

And still he cry'd his Nannie O,
His weelfar'd, comely Nannie O,
And a' the warld shall never know
The love that I bear to my Nannie O."

Herd gives four verses (evidently a fragment), while Buchan gives seven, with minor variations. These, as we have said, may derive from the "Scotch Wooing" of the London printer, or the whole of them may have their origin in the earlier "Nanny O," to which the alternative tune on the broadsheet of 1685-90 harks back. The tune was claimed by Mr.

* Hecht's "Songs from the Herd Manuscripts," p. 247.

† Hogg and Motherwell's "Burns's Works," 1834, II., p. 94.

Chappell for England* on the ground that it was sung to the Tynemouth version of "Nanny O," ignoring the fact that on the face of that ballad it is given as an alternative air, thus :—"to a pleasant new tune; or Nanny O." This is not two names for one tune. If there is anything constant in the printed texts of English broadsheet balladry, it is the form the one or more airs to which they may be sung are recorded. Thus :—

"To a pleasant new tune called *The Princess Adieu.*"
"To a pleasant new tune called *Poor Georgy.*"
"To a pleasant new tune; or *Sellenger's Round.*"
"To a pleasant new tune; or *Musgrove's March.*"
"To an excellent new tune; or *Cold and Raw.*"

Now the last three entries can be no other than alternative airs to the ballads to which they are attached, because "Sellenger's Round," "Musgrove's March," and "Cold and Raw" were old and known tunes before these broadsheets were written.† So with the English ballad of the "Scotch Wooing,"—there must have been a "Nanny O" in existence and well-known before it was printed. We think it highly probable that the words of this earlier "Nanny O," could they be recovered, would turn out to be Scottish, as well as the air. Fragments in the "Scotch Wooing" point in that direction. It is interesting to note that a phrase from the chorus of this song has been used

*And reclaimed by Glen, "Early Scots Melodies," p. 44.

†"Chappell's Popular Music," p. 69. Rox. Bal. VII., pp. 210-604.

as a refrain to some traditional versions of "The Twa Sisters," sung in Scotland.*

When the Ballad Society was formed in 1868 by some of the gentlemen who issued the famous "Percy Folio MS.,"† the first work they resolved to print was the great collection of broadsheet ballads known as the Roxburghe, and members were led to understand that no castrated or emasculated texts would be printed, but that everything taken in hand should be reprinted exactly as it stood in the originals. Some members of the committee, including Mr. Chappell (editor), soon began to feel qualms about printing some of the "high-kilted" items common to all the great collections. In accordance with this feeling, Mr. Chappell omitted two ballads in volume II. of the Roxburghe reprint. Mr. Furnivall took exception to his doing so, and printed them under his own signature as a beginning to a supplemental volume, and so kept faith with the members of the society. This step was the forerunner to Mr. Chappell's retirement, and he was succeeded by Mr. Ebsworth, who was in full accord with the party who insisted on printing all the originals in their entirety. In due course we come

*Child's "Popular Ballads," I., p. 139.

†This work was not "published by the Ballad Society" as is stated in Henderson's *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 337, but was issued for subscribers by Trübner & Co. between April 20, 1867, and Feb., 1868. In March, 1868, Mr. Furnivall invited subscribers to join the Ballad Society, for the formation of which arrangements were being made.

across a considerable number of pieces, fully flavoured with the abandon of the Restoration muse, besides a sprinkling of others, which in their day must have been little better than brothel songs, so baldly gross they are, in matter and manner, without a streak of wit or humour to relieve their naked nastiness. Mr. Ebsworth, in the main, showed great tact and skill in the way he made all these doubtful items available for students of Restoration song-craft, without calling attention to, or making comments upon them—though sometimes claiming them as the originals of songs hitherto believed to be Scottish. As time went on he seems to have become less judicious in handling these base-born waifs, as the following will show :—

O'er Bogie.

I will awa' wi' my Love,
I will awa' wi' her,
Tho' a' my Kin had sworn and said
I'll o'er Bogie *wi' her.*
If I can get but her consent,
I dinna care a Strae;
Tho' ilka ane be discontent,
Awa' wi' her I'll gae.

I will awa', etc.

T. T. Misc., p. 80.

This song by Ramsay (the chorus belonging to an older ditty), is said by Ebsworth to have been taken from "An excellent new song, lately composed, entitled, 'I'le o'er Bogie wi' him,' to its own proper tune,"—an English print, without date or printer's

name, but approximately dated "circa 1708." It opens in the true ballad-monger's style, adopting the older chorus, which carried the tune :—

"All Batchelors and Lasses,
I pray you now draw near;
And do you hold your passion,
A story you shall hear
Of a young wanton Lassie,
That would not counsel'd be;
But she would over *Gaudie*,
Her fortune for to see.

I'll o'er Bogie wi' my Love,
I'll o'er Bogie wi' him;
An' all my kin had sworn and said,
I'll o'er Bogie wi' him."

Rox. Bal., viii., p. 721.

The story of this damsel and her fall is told in language so gross and indecent that the editor had, in his first dealings with it, to omit two of the stanzas. In a note (in which he blames Ramsay for suppressing the texts of old songs), he says, "It is a matter for regret that so many originals perished when Allan Ramsay allowed his 'young gentlemen' and himself to substitute their own conceits for the 'genuine Doric.' Burns, on the contrary, tried to retain all that was good of the old material in his new garments." True, but what, we would ask, did Burns do when there was *nothing* good in the old material? Exactly what Ramsay did, left it severely alone, and gave the air another vehicle. Whether Ramsay had this *new* song, or the "old silly words" noted by

Stenhouse, in his mind, cannot be definitely known now, though probably the latter was what he knew. He adopted the chorus only, for both songs were objectionable, though for very different reasons. Mr. Ebsworth, however, goes on, and quite gratuitously glosses some of the terms and phrases so as to emphasise the filthy character of the song he reprints. We are told that "to go over Bogie," or "cross Bogie," was an understood expression, signifying "to go on the loose sexually." Now this is not correct,—it may be twisted so, to suit the purpose of this English ditty—but its ordinary secondary meaning, from Aberdeenshire to Galloway, is "an irregular, or run-away marriage." It is quite possible that at some past time the stream mentioned may have been the boundary of two separate civil or ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and so gave rise to the significance of the phrase. Further he tells us that the word "Gaudy" or "Gandy" may mean "over the broomstick"; "probably Gandy is Houghmagandy = fornication; perhaps a misprint for Gamrie, Strathbogie—over the hills and far away." Some 150 pages farther on in the volume, he again comes back to this song, and in an additional jumble of notes (p. 871) he prints the omitted stanzas *as prose* (to hide them),—retracts what he had said about Ramsay,—and has now discovered, through Buchan and Sharpe, that Gawdie and Bogie are the names of streams in Aberdeenshire, which in traditionary song have a perfectly innocent meaning. Before he gets to the bottom of the page, however, he again forgets himself, and like the dog

to his vomit, repeats the objectionable glossing, this time anent the English version of "Thro' the wood laddie,"— a song innocent in its text of any such suggestions, though it is garbled and confused when compared with the copy sent to the *Scots Musical Museum* by Dr. Blacklock as the "old words."

Kind Robin lo'es me.

Robin is my only joe,
Robin has the art to loo',
So to his suit I mean to bow
Because I ken he looes me.

Happy happy was the show'r,
That led me to his birken bow'r,
Whare first of love I fand the pow'r,
And ken'd that Robin loo'd me.

Herd I., p. 311.

Hech hey ! Robin, quo' she,
Hech hey ! Robin, quo' she,
Hech hey ! Robin, quo' she,
Kind Robin loes me.

Robin, Robin, let me be
Until I win the nourrice fee ;
And I will spend it a' wi' thee,
For kind Robin loes me.

(*Traditional*) *Stenhouse*, p. 422.

In connection with a considerable number of the loose and high-kilted songs of the Restoration period, said to have been adopted by the Scots, and dialectically spiced by them for home consumption, our readers may rest assured that unfortunately the old Scots muse had a plentiful supply of smut of its own.

without importing any from England. Many Scottish songs of that time, and later, were merry and loose enough in all conscience; but they never, or rarely, failed in having sufficient humour and lyrical swing to compensate for their shortcomings in propriety. This cannot be said about those which passed through the mill of the English broadsheet ballad-printer, for if there was a lower depth in unrelieved smutty grossness to be reached, he never failed to find it. The songs "Jenny, Jenny," and "O'er Bogie," noted on pp. 232 and 250, are characteristic samples of what we mean, and to these we may add, how it fared with the old original of "Kind Robin lo'es me," before closing this subject. We have documentary evidence that this song was very popular in Scotland towards the close of the seventeenth century, for it is mentioned, and a verse quoted, in a sermon said to have been preached by James Kirkton, a Presbyterian divine, as a "profane song," forbidden by the kirk.* About this time (1688-92), the song had got dished up as a broadside ballad under title of—"*Scotch Moggy's Misfortune together with her chearful hops that Shakum Guie will bury his wife, and then make Moggy a happy mother.*" Outside the quotation in Kirkton's sermon and some fragments preserved by Herd (1776, Vol. II., p. 208), under the heading "Whistle o'er the lave o't," the only text of "Kind Robin lo'es me," now extant, is found embedded in this broadside—a very crude, coarse piece of ballad-maker's patchwork. It opens:

*"*Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*, 1692" [edition 1790, p. 114].

Shakum Guie has gotten a wife,
And he is a-weary of his life:
The day will come that she will dye,
And Shakum Guie will marry me.

Ha, ha, Robin, quoth she,
Ha, ha, Robin, quoth she,
Ha, ha, ha, Robin, quoth she,
Kind Robin loves me.

My father left me a good stock,
Full forty weathers in a flock,
With geese, ducks, hens, and a fighting cock,
Kind Robin, for thee:
Ha, ha, Robin, quoth she, etc.

* * * *

My mammy she gave unto me
Forty marks as thou shalt see,
And I will give it aw to thee,
Kind Robin, quoth she,
Ha, ha, Robin, etc.

These are presentable stanzas out of the nine which compose the broadside—but after the first stanza "Shakum Guie" drops out of it altogether, and instead of "Moggy" hoping to marry him, the remaining eight stanzas and chorus are taken up with the doings of "Kind Robin" and her prospective marriage with *him*. An "answer" to this ballad was issued by the same printers about the same time, and in it "Shakum Guie" turns up again, and having buried his wife, now proposes to and marries "Moggy." The first ballad having utilized a traditional song, or songs, with chorus in its up-make, rude, crude, and coarse though these be, has still a touch of folk-song in it

entirely wanting in the "Answer," which is pure ballad-maker's doggerel, with no chorus. That some of the verses inset into "Scotch Moggy's Misfortune" belong to the Scottish song noted by Kirkton, there can be no doubt, and it is quite possible that some may belong to "Whistle o'er the lave o't," a contemporary Scottish song, of the same rhythm and structure, the verses of which might easily be transposed by a singer. The music of both tunes is in the Blaikie MS., 1692. Our English friends hold that the Scots appropriated this broadside, and made their song or songs out of it, while we think the appropriation was the other way about—and that it only requires a very slight examination, and some common sense, to see that we are right. Neither song nor ballad is of much importance, but nothing is too insignificant, if prior publication can give our Ebsworthians an excuse for claiming as original, what poor Scotland failed betimes to put into print or manuscript.

Johnny Faa.

Of more importance, from this point of view, is the ballad of "Johnny Faa," because here, though the English text is allowed on all sides to be the earliest print of that excellent ballad, it is *not* claimed by Mr. Ebsworth as the original of the subsequently printed Scottish version. The English version was printed *circa* 1720, and Ramsay's version in 1740. Here Mr. Ebsworth gives up the whole contention we

have had with him anent printed texts and traditional versions. He now speaks of his English version as a very bad hash-up of a Scottish traditional ballad, printed more correctly by Ramsay some twenty years after. After this admission there is no use emphasizing dates of printed or manuscript copies as the *sole* test of what is genuine or original, or insisting that "documentary proof, whether printed or manuscript, can *alone* be trusted." He has now apparently discovered that internal and other evidence cannot be ignored, and this is what we have contended for all along. If he had kept this in mind when treating other ballads and songs of the north, early utilized by the English ballad-printer, his editorial work would have had more abiding value. We give both texts of this ballad so that our readers may see for themselves :—

Ramsay's Text.

The gypsies came to our good Lord's gate,
And wow but they sang sweetly ;
They sang sae sweet, and sae very complete,
That down came the fair lady.

And she came tripping down the stair,
And a' her maids before her ;
As soon as they saw her well-far'd face,
They coost the glamer o'er her.

Gae tak frae me this gay mantile,
And bring to me a plaidie,
For if kith and kin, and a' had sworn,
I'll follow the gypsie laddie.

Yestreen I lay in a weel-made bed,
And my good lord beside me;
This night I'll lie in a tenant's barn,
Whatever shall betide me.

Come to your bed, says Johny Faa,
Oh, come to your bed, my deary;
For I vow and I swear by the hilt of my sword,
That your Lord shall nae mair come near ye.

I'll go to bed to my Johny Faa,
I'll go to bed to my deary;
For I vow and swear by what past yestreen,
That my Lord shall nae mair come near me.

I'll make a hap to my Johny Faa,
And I'll make a hap to my deary;
And he's get a' the coat gaes round,
And my Lord shall nae mair come near me.

And when our Lord came hame at een
And speir'd for his fair lady,
The tane she cry'd, and the other reply'd,
She's away with the gypsie laddie.

Gae saddle to me the black, black steed,
Gae saddle and make him ready;
Before that I either eat or sleep,
I'll gae seek my fair lady.

And we were fifteen well-made men,
Altho' we were na bonny;
And we were a' put down for ane,
A fair young wanton lady.

T. T. Misc. IV., p. 427.

Broadside Version: supposed printed at Newcastle-on-Tyne about 1720.

There was seven gypsies all in a gang,
They were brisk and bonny; O
They rode till they came to the Earl of Castle's house,
And there they sang most sweetly, O.

The Earl of Castle's lady came down,
With the waiting-maid beside her;
As soon as her fair face they saw,
They called their grandmother over.

They gave to her a nutmeg brown,
And a race of the best ginger;
She gave to them a far better thing,
'Twas the ring from off her finger.

She pulld off her high-heeld shoes,
They was made of Spanish leather;
She put on her highland broges,
To follow the gypsey loddy.

At night when my good lord came home,
Enquiring for his lady,
The waiting-maid made this reply,
'She's following the gypsey loddy.'

'Come saddle me my milk-white steed,
Come saddle it so bonny,
As I may go seek my own wedded wife,
That's following the gypsey loddy'

'Have you been east? have you been west?
Or have you been brisk and bonny?
Or have you seen a gay lady,
A following the gypsey loddy?'

He rode all that summer's night,
And part of the next morning;
At length he spy'd his own wedded wife,
She was cold, wet, and weary.

'Why did you leave your houses and land?
Or why did you leave your money?
Or why did you leave your good wedded lord,
To follow the gypsey loddy?'

'O what care I for houses and land?
Or what care I for money?
So as I have brewd, so will I return;
So fare you well, my honey!'

There was seven gypsies in a gang,
And they was brisk and bonny,
And they're to be hanged all on a row,
For the Earl of Castle's lady.

Child IV., p. 70, *Rox. Bal.* VIII., p. 156.

For whatever reason, we cannot tell, but this ballad is not printed in the Ballad Society reprint exactly as it appears in the broadsheet. The main blunders are corrected within brackets, and the original bunglings are given in side-notes. It is very evident, however, from "They coost the glamer o'er her," being printed "They called their grandmother over," that the copy had been taken from an ignorant singer, or transcribed by an equally ignorant hearer. The rendering of the well-known proverbial expression "as I have brewed sae will I drink," as "So as I have brewd, so will I return," and "laddie" as

"loddy," are not far out of keeping with the usual broadside printing of Scottish traditionary texts.*

The incident on which this ballad is supposed to have been founded, is the execution of Johnny Faa and seven other gipsies in 1624. Its subsequent connection with the Cassillis family is a later accretion, for which no historical foundation has been discovered. Ramsay's version gives no indication of who the lady was. The "Earl of Castle's house," mentioned in the broadsheet, looks very like a misprint for "Cassillis" or a mishearing from singer—but if so it must refer to an incident earlier than that which tradition has fixed upon. It must also be remembered that "Johnny Faa" had become a kind of hero during, and for some time after, the gipsy prosecutions under the law of Scotland—and appears in other popular ballads. The lady of the sixth Earl of Cassillis was only 17 years old in 1624—and some of the ballad

*We have even seen worse, as witness an early English print of "The Blythsome Bridal," under title of "The Scotch Wedding," [*D'Urfey's Pills to purge Melancholy* VI., p. 350], where "sow-libber Patie" is printed "low lipper Betty"; "plookie"—"pluggy"; "fairntickl't Hughie"—"farnicled Huggy"; "sneevling"—"mincing"; "coft him his breeks"—"lost him his brick"; "fairy-fac'd"—"sarey fac'd"; "gowden wame"—"codling wem"; "girn-again Gibby"—"Jenny go Gibby"; "mislie-chin'd flyting Geordie"—"messed skin blosen Jordy"; "pow-sodie"—"prosody"; "scrapt-haddocks"—"croft head"; "a mull o' good sneeshin to pree"—"a meal of good sweting to ney"; and others of minor moment. This is not altogether carelessness of the printer, but ignorance in either reciter or transcriber, who seems to have spelled phonetically what he *thought* was said or sung.

versions make her the mother of two or three children! If the incident took place, as some accounts say, in 1643, it cannot refer to her, as she died in 1642, and letters of that date are extant quite incompatible with the traditional story. It was in Burns's day that the story connecting Cassillis' lady with the elopement was first noted as traditional in Ayrshire. For fuller details regarding the difficulties of locating the story, see *Child's Popular Ballads*, Vol. IV., pp. 64-5.

Many other items (which up to the time of Messrs. Chappell and Ebsworth were unquestioned as belonging to Scotland, or of Scottish origin, though unprinted there till the time of Ramsay and his successors), are found in English broadside balladry in a more or less debased condition, owing to the channel through which they reached printed form. We have already given our reasons for declining to accept mere priority in print or manuscript as the *sole test* of what belongs to Scotland and what to England in matters of ballad and song. Hence we leave the broadsides of *Bonnie Dundee*, *The Gallant Grahams*, *Cromlet's Lilt*, *Johnnie Armstrong*, *Barbara Allan*, *The Lass of Ocram*, *Geordie*, *Moggy's Jealousy*, etc., the groups of songs "*Let me in*," "*Go from my window*," "*Jockey and Jenny*," etc., with Mr. Ebsworth's notes thereon, as these are well accounted for, when similar *per contras* to those already noted in this discussion are remembered, and their due value insisted on. We may note, however, that Ramsay's text of *Johnnie Armstrong* was not, as is said, taken "from the Bannatyne MS.," but from a reciter whom Ramsay knew; and that the *Lass*

of Ocram is neither so old nor so good as some of the traditional texts of the *Lass of Roch Royal* to be found in Professor Child's volumes.

We now pass on to note the editorial attitude to things traditional exhibited in the pages of the Roxburghe and Bagford Collections. That attitude is very mixed, and creates an impression that the writer is playing a "Mr. Facing-both-ways" part—now contemptuously scathing in his condemnation, and again extremely laudatory. It is only on the principle of

> "That in the captain's but a choleric word,
> Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy,"

that one can endorse the unstinted praise of Scott for doing in a superb manner what is so violently condemned in other and lesser men for doing in a more clumsy make-shift manner. That Scott was a master in bridging gaps and splicing stanzas, just as Percy was, we fully allow; but Buchan's more homely *plank* placed over gaps in his traditional versions, was surely no greater sin than the more ornate connections of poet or bishop! That traditional ballad versions differ very much in character, quality, and worth, is well-known to every collector—worthy and unworthy records being met with even from the same singer. But to meet with the declaration that "*much* of the so-called traditional ballad versions is purely spurious, and often fabricated of set purpose," is surely a considerable overstatement, and could only come from one who, whatever his book knowledge might be, had never met

face to face with a singer of traditional balladry. It is too often forgotten that, as Mr. Lang says, "all old traditional ballads are masses of retouches made through centuries by reciters, copyists, editors, and so forth." A great amount of nonsense has been written anent the origin of popular ballads and the influence of tradition on their transmission. These are questions over which men may wrangle till the crack of doom, and be no wiser than they were when they began. Popular ballads are narrative songs sung at any particular time by a people who learned them from their predecessors, and who believed that in the past these had learned them from *their* predecessors, time out of mind. At no given point in the transmission can we say that the version is sung exactly as it was fifty or sixty years before. When at any point of time, the collector or copyist comes in and makes a record, that record is nothing more than the tradition of that particular time and locality. Thus in the popular balladry contained in the Percy folio MS., we have the traditional form of a certain time and place, and can never tell how far the recorder or the singer may have varied, improved, or by carelessness degraded the texts recorded. It is the same with traditional texts printed as broadsides, except that we know, from the nature and character of the trade, to be cautious in accepting them as of any other value than mere trade transactions which, if not "fabricated of set purpose," were certainly done up of set purpose, to sell.

We meet with the following deliverances on traditional ballads in Mr. Ebsworth's notes:—

"We admit unhesitatingly the woeful inferiority of our English Street-ditties, the reprints of penny broadsides, the literature of our lower and middle classes two hundred years ago, and a century earlier, as compared to those spirit-stirring and pathetic Border-Ballads, for the chief part genuinely and intensely Scottish, that have floated down to us traditionally, and been snatched by such men as David Herd, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Jamieson, William Motherwell, and a few others . . . true searchers and recorders" [*Rox. Bal.*, VI., p. 600].

In a subsequent volume, Motherwell is classed among others, "more or less utterers of base coin" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. 154]; and spoken of as "a party journalist, who sold his poetic birthright for a mess of pottage" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. li***].

"Scott knew well how to bridge over gulfs and make dry bones live. That he himself was the remodeller or reconstructor of many intelligible and glowing ballads, persistently, throughout the *Minstrelsy* from the suggestive but self-contradictory fragments which his ready instinct showed him to have been formerly connected, is demonstrable. He gave us marvellous treasures in these Border-Ballads. But he was the Arachne who spun the threads from within. Many of them, by their superiority to rival manufactures, approve the Master's hand. Some were as thoroughly his own creation (besides 'The Eve of St. John') as were his soon following 'Novels by the Author of Waverley'" [*Rox. Bal.*, VI., p. 587].

Scott and Jamieson, we are again told,

"had recourse to one, Mrs. Brown, of Falkland, who professed to hold genuine recollections. Neither of the seekers knew of the other's quest. [?]* *Facile Princeps* was he, the loyal gentleman who began our century with the three entrancing volumes of ballad-illustrations, his Minstrelsy

*See *ante*, p. 5.

of the Scottish Border, 1802 and 1803 (the materials for which he had gathered in Liddisdale and elsewhere during ten previous years) : . . . Never again shall we see such an editor of Traditionary Ballads" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. xlix***]. "Alas! how little even of these delightful volumes can be regarded as other than the creation of Sir Walter's own ready pen!" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. 346; *Bag. Bal.*, p. 346].

What in Scott is called "manufacture" is in others dubbed "modern fabrications," "untrusted," "garbled," "sophisticated,"—and "the fragments" Scott is said to have "re-constructed," when gathered by others are spoken of as the "so-called traditionary variations, pretended to be carried down from hoar antiquity by garrulous old women, half-blundering and half-fraudulent" [*Rox. Bal.*, VI., p. 612]. In general he speaks of "traditionary" texts as "mis-recollections . . . collected zealously with more or less inaccuracy"—"self-evident imitations" of broad-side and other printed copies; modified further on, in a subsequent volume, as—"some fragments were genuine, no doubt, but the greater part were either fraudulent impostures, or imperfect recollections of what had been learned from broad-sides, slip-songs, or chapbooks" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. xlix***]. In so far, however, as popular romantic balladry is concerned, we have no reason to think that they first reached print, even in England, in any other way than by that of tradition, and often a very low-mouthed tradition indeed. They cannot be treated as standard texts by which to test subsequent versions.

In spite, however, of all his adverse strictures on Scottish traditional ballads gathered after Scott, Mr.

Ebsworth is not blind to their beauties when compared with those printed broadsheets, etc., which he spent his life in editing and elucidating.

"Scotland improved all she borrowed. England degraded the poetry of northern legend and romance into the dullest common-place [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. 450]. . . . Ballads are good teachers of national and individual character. Stern though the climate was in the north country, and gloomy as were the tenets of irreconcilable Calvinism, there reigned a blither spirit of song in Scotland than in England. Far more romance of poetry lingered in Scottish legendary ballads, than could withstand the soul-deadening fanaticism in England, bequeathed by what was audaciously called the 'Reformation'" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. xlii***].

"Incontestable fact that whatever is common property of the two countries in the domain of legend or tradition, the higher spirituality, heroism and pathos, are found in the Scottish ballads. Fragmentary and disjointed they may often be, showing manifold discrepancies or incongruities and plagiarisms from one another, with ignorant interpolations patched, . . . but they glow with the attributes of genuine poetry" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. liii***].

Leaving our readers to find a common denominator for all these vagaries of opinion, if they deem it worth their while, we now pass on to a brief consideration of what has been written anent Robert Burns and his indebtedness to broadsheet balladry.

"*The Trackings Home of Burns's Originals.*"

In the course of his labours on the Bagford and Roxburghe Collections, Mr. Ebsworth now and again came across some items in which the subject, or

occasional forms of expression, suggested the likelihood of their being early forerunners of certain songs or song-phrases now associated with the name of Robert Burns. That these may have passed down through slip-songs or chap-books to the time when Burns set about collecting the folk-songs of Scotland for *Johnson's Museum*, is quite possible; even though the supposed original broadsides were probably derivatives from earlier Scottish sources, as in the case of *Bonnie Dundee*, and others. The ways by which folk-song passes down from generation to generation are many and very obscure, and though we admit that Burns, or those singers he gleaned from, may have got their words from slip-songs or chap-books, it is equally possible that they got them, along with the airs, from the oral tradition of the country-side, which knew nothing of printed texts. However this may be, Mr. Ebsworth's "trackings home of Burns's originals" were followed out with great diligence by Messrs. Henley and Henderson in the Centenary edition of *The Poetry of Robert Burns*, in order to make good their statement that "he [Burns] did not wholly originate those master-qualities of fresh and taking simplicity, of vigour and directness, and happy and humorous ease, which have come to be regarded as distinctive of his verse; for all these things . . . were included in the estate which he inherited from his nameless forbears."* This, to come from men who are supposed

**Cen. Burns*, III., p. 295; also see the poet's tribute to these "forbears" in his *Common-place Book*, printed by Scott Douglas, in Burns's Works, Vol. IV., pp. 93-94.

to know something of the material which the folk-song of his country brought to the hand of Burns, seems an extraordinary statement; especially when we know that the master who opened the way to them (Mr. Ebsworth), again and again repeats: "these trackings home of Burns's originals have almost invariably enhanced our admiration for his skill. What he found to be of brick, he left as marble."* . . . "He was the true alchemist to turn lead into gold."† This we take to be absolutely true—he purged the folk-song of his time of all its dross—transmuted, in the fullest sense of the term, "its lead into gold." He alone gave the master-touch to them.

Mr. Ebsworth's "trackings home of Burns's originals" cannot very well be considered apart from the extra matter unearthed by the editors of the *Centenary Burns*, as they add very considerably to what they received from him, and in the multiplicity of their details one is apt to lose sight of methods of treatment quite as objectionable as anything we have found in Mr. Ebsworth. In their tracings back from Burns to broadside they sometimes note, as a link in the chain of evidence, an item of an *assumed* date which perhaps suits their purpose, but which cannot be accepted as of that date except by a mind dominated by a foregone conclusion. They admit that "Burns's knowledge of the older minstrelsy was unique: he was saturate with its tradition . . . no such artist in folk-song as he, has ever worked in literature." In their notes to the

*Rox. Bal., VIII., p. 245.

†Rox. Bal., VIII., p. 678.

songs, they seek to trace his connection with, and gauge his obligations to the past, through manuscripts, broadsides, chap, and other song books, but they sometimes forget that these chap-books, to be of use for their purpose, must be prints of a date *prior* to Burns's time; and the manuscripts must be *known* to have been seen and examined by the poet. For instance, in "*Whistle and I'll come to you, my lad*," the editors say "he [Burns] found the chorus in the Herd MSS." There is no proof of this. In a former note they tell us that "Burns had a unique knowledge of folk-song," and we know from his own writings that for years he took down from all and sundry the words and music of whatever old-world songs he could lay hands on:—"the lasses of Ayrshire," "the people of Ayrshire," "an old woman at Dunblane," "picked up from a girl in Nithsdale," etc., etc., are recurring phrases with him, anent the sources of old lilts. The same field was open to him as was open to Herd, and he was quite as great an enthusiast in collecting as Herd ever was; so the assertion that he found anything in these MSS. seems, with the evidence we have, quite gratuitous. On pp. 296-7, of Vol. III., *Centenary Burns*, we find the first mention of Herd's MSS. among the new fields explored by the editors in order to prove to the world (already well acquainted with the fact) that Burns as poet and song-writer had predecessors, and that he derived from former unknown singers! Burns himself had proclaimed that loud enough, and long enough, for all the world to know. His supposed connection with the Herd MSS. is stated thus:—

"Burns may of course have had other knowledge of the matter here suggested, but that he had access to the MS. while it was in Herd's hands (the *probability* is that it was submitted to him in the autumn of 1787) and made large use of it in connection with the *Museum* is, we think, made abundantly clear in the notes." Now the only thing that is clear in the notes is the *assertion* that Burns took this, that, and the other thing from Herd's MSS., forgetting that his ever having seen the MSS. is itself a *mere conjecture*, an assumed *probability* at most. Burns, as we have said, had the same field to glean from as Herd—the singers of the countryside; and in all his correspondence we have not a word to indicate that such a man as Herd was known to him, although the anonymous works, which Wotherspoon printed from Herd's MSS., were well-known to him, but only as "*Wotherspoon's Collections*." Burns avowedly used a number of the song fragments printed in the 1769 and 1776 volumes, as well as similar things from other song books; but he "had other knowledge" than that of printed texts —he had the lips of living singers, and had no need to surreptitiously appropriate the gatherings of a fellow-collector without acknowledgment. The whole case of "Burns *v.* the Herd MSS." is similar to the one we have already noted (p. 215-16), where Mr. Ebsworth attempted to make out a case of personal friendship and intercourse between Ramsay and D'Urfey. The desired facts were imagined, and repeated assertion was supposed to confirm the truth of them. All that with justice can be said by any

editor on this subject of Herd's MSS. *v.* Burns, and with our present information, is that traditional texts, of more or less similarity to the *Museum* texts, are found among the unprinted matter in the Herd MSS.

We take exception also to the supposed evidence anent derivation which the contents of *undated* chap-books are held as yielding. Again and again in their voluminous notes, the editors quote the contents of these, as if they were undoubtedly prior to the time when Burns composed or communicated to the *Museum* the particular song to which they refer. Now the difficulty of fixing a date to any slip-song or chap-book, which also wants printer's name and place, is recognised by all competent authorities as very great. In these, twenty years at least must be allowed as a margin to go and come on, if we wish to get reasonably near the truth. Where reliance in fixing dates is placed on chap-book woodcuts, ornamental rules, letters, or other printing furniture, it should not be forgotten that these passed on to successors in trade, and were used again and again over very many years. When we come to chap-books having a printer's name or known to experts to be from a particular press, but without date, the only safe statement is to give the years between which "chaps" were issued by that particular printer. When we find Messrs. Henley and Henderson quoting undated chap-books (in the Motherwell Collection) well known to be from the press of J. & M. Robertson, Glasgow, we should have expected some hint given, that the known dates between which that firm issued "chaps" were 1780 and 1810. What,

on the other hand, is the use of quoting an undated chap-book, printed by C. Randall, Stirling,* anent a song sent by Burns to the *Museum* before 1790, when Randall's printing dates are known to be from 1794 to 1812? Or again, quoting one printed by T. Johnston, Falkirk,† who issued between 1799 and 1835, anent a song in the *Museum*, 1788?

The tracking of any author's sources of inspiration or suggestion is in itself a perfectly legitimate and useful exercise of critic-craft, and is ever welcome when gone about with the sole aim of adding to the sum of our knowledge of that author. It may be run, however, to seed, and pursued into such petty details as to make the game not worth the candle. We cannot say that the editors of the *Centenary Burns* have not been guilty of this in their eagerness to show the poet in a less rosy light than that in which former Burns editors placed him. Of course we fully admit that the *text* of Burns which they have given us, and the *bibliographical notes* they have appended to each volume, leave other editions of Burns far behind; but we cannot say the same of some of their critical deliverances, or their hunting through past literature after such verbal minutiæ as "dearly I do love thee," "o'er the hills an' far awa'," and piling up parallelisms which have little or no bearing on a healthy appreciation of the poet's genius or sources of inspiration. This is running the "trackings" which Mr. Ebsworth spoke about into the merest peddling, unworthy alike of

* *Cen. Burns*, III., p. 341.

† *Ibid*, III., p. 323.

critic and subject. Mr. Ebsworth's attitude towards Burns and his obligations to unknown singers of the past is, in the main, more satisfactory and respectful than that of Messrs. Henley and Henderson. One does not dip far into the *Centenary Burns* without understanding how some enthusiastic lovers of the poet looked upon the editors as literary swashbucklers, out mainly for the purpose of belittling and besmirching the "inspired faun," as they dubbed the poet, and having their fling at the "common Burnsite." If this was their purpose, they certainly, in a way, succeeded. Though any stick is said to be good enough to beat a dog with, had the partizans of the poet, the "common Burnsites," examined closely, they would have found that the weapon which the editors had inherited from Mr. Ebsworth, however formidable it may have looked, is often in their hands a mere pithless make-believe switch, more irritating than destructive. Herd manuscript parallels and undated chap-books are precarious foundations to build upon.

As a sample of Mr. Ebsworth's finds, plus the additions thereto made by the editors of the *Centenary Burns*, take the following. In dealing with the many broadside ballads and slip-songs which tell of the inevitable woes and miseries which flow from the joining in wedlock of "crabbed age and youth"—unhallowed marriages—(a theme old as the race), and coming on an English ballad, "*The Young Woman's Complaint*," printed *circa* 1665, the editor at once noted that here was an early forerunner of Burns's "*What can a Young Lassie do wi' an Old Man?*"

Unlike in many respects though the broadsheet may be when read alongside the songs of Jean Allardyce [1714], or Robert Burns [1792], on the same subject, one can have no doubt that they are somehow related, though the intervening links have dropped out of knowledge. When printing the "*Young Woman's Complaint*" [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. 678], the editor suggests that Burns had known a traditional version of it, which had floated down "in Ayrshire, after it was forgotten in England,"—a very likely thing. As, however, the 1665 "*Young Woman*" is said to be sung to the tune of "*What should a Young Woman do with an Old Man?*" (a refrain which only occurs twice in its ten verses) it looks a likely derivative from an older song, Scottish or English, now lost to us. The editors of the *Centenary Burns*, after quoting from the 1665 ballad, step in with a derivative "The Old Man killed with the Cough," found in an old *undated* chap-book, which Burns, they say, "seems to have known, and to have borrowed its rhythmus as well as its general tone and sentiment," when writing his own song. We expect, however, that it was the other way about, and that the chap-book writer took his cue (we cannot say "borrowed," for the things are so unlike) from Burns. At any rate, the *undated* "chap" is an English print, and when Mr. Ebsworth gives its text [*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. 862] he says, "this song appeared *circa* 1797," and he speaks of it as "a coarse but vigorous modernization." Burns's song was printed in the *Museum*, 1792, and has been truly described as "the masterly condensation of the story by the Ayrshire Ploughman,

Robert Burns, . . . the true alchemist to turn lead into gold."—[*Rox. Bal.*, VIII., p. 681].

Again, where any particular source is quite clear, either on the face of the song, or by the poet's express declaration, we can see no use in spinning out notes with matter not pertinent to the point. For instance, in "*Green grows the Rashes, O*," [*Cen. Burns*, I., p. 414] the editors point out, what is very likely, that the song had been suggested "by the blackguard old song," a fragment of which was printed in Herd, 1776 (Vol. II., p. 224), a fuller text of which Burns had in his MS. *Merry Muses of Caledonia*. Burns also quotes the chorus in a letter to Richmond, 30th September, 1786, about the time he sent his own song to *Johnson's Museum*. Not contented with this, they go on and speak of "another set in an old Falkirk chap (undated) in the Motherwell collection," and quote the first eight lines. This chap-book, however, was in all probability issued years after Burns's text was printed—not earlier than 1790, possibly later—and the only likeness its text has to "Green grows the Rashes" is the recurrence of the word "rashes" in its verses and the high-kiltedness it has in common with the old blackguard *Merry Muses* song. It is not, in any sense, a version of "Green grows the Rashes," has no chorus, and is sung to a totally different air. But besides, supposing it was a version, why quote an *undated* chap-book text when that text is merely a reprint of a well-known song in the *Tea-Table Miscellany* 1724, I., p. 75, "My Jocky blyth for what thou'st done," which also appears in both editions of Herd

[1769, p. 83, and 1776, II., p. 48]? Burns knew the contents of these volumes well, but there is, as we have said, no trace of any influence of "My Jocky blyth" in his song. When the editors record, at the close of their note, that the last verse—

> "Auld Nature swears, the lovely dears,
> Her noblest work she classes, O!
> Her prentice han' she try'd on man,
> An then she made the lasses, O"—

was "probably written in Edinburgh, as it does not appear in the *First Common Place Book*," how did they fail, mid their many surmises, to suggest that Burns had borrowed the idea of this fine verse from Arbuthnot's "Praise of Women,"* printed that year [1786] from the Maitland MSS., and published by Creech, the bookseller whom Burns was then in touch with anent his Edinburgh edition? It would have been quite as good a conjecture as many they have brought forward to explain what are mere coincidences, and would have added another item of proof towards the poet's obligations to his predecessors!

Again, when Mr. Ebsworth reprinted the broadside of "*The Unkind Parents*," [*Rox. Bal.*, VII., p. 554], the *structure* of the verse recalled to him Scott's song, "A weary lot is thine, fair Maid," in *Rokeby*, and also the supposed Captain John Ogilvie's song, "It was a' for our rightfu' King;" but he recognised that apart from the mere form of verse, *The Unkind Parents* contained nothing in common with these two

*Pinkerton's Ancient Scotish Poems. Edinr., 1786, Vol. I., p. 141.

songs. * He goes on and gives a useful note regarding Ogilvie, and the MS. copy of the song sent by Burns to the Museum, and while recognising that "in all things he [Ogilvie] was the fitting hero of such a ditty," yet hesitated to give him the authorship in presence of "Burns's own autograph, from which the *Museum* printed the earliest recorded copy." He also notes that C. K. Sharpe pointed out that the fine verse,

> "He turned him right and round about,
> Upon the Irish shore,
> And gae his bridle reins a shake,
> With adieu for evermore, my dear,
> With adieu, etc."

occurs in a stall-copy of "*Bonny Mally Stuart*," a song very common at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century. We know of no earlier copy of this chap-song than the one reprinted by Maidment [*Scottish Ballads and Songs* 1859], and it was a Glasgow print of 1807. Other copies we have met with, without date, printed at Edinburgh and Falkirk, but these are undoubtedly 1820 to 1830. In a subsequent volume of *Roxburghe Ballads* (VIII., p. 783) Mr. Ebsworth returns to "*Bonny Mally Stuart*" and says:—

"We possess an early version of it in '*A Garland of New Songs*,' printed with some [what?] of date 1746 to 1750.

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* He dates *The Unkind Parents* broadsheet "Printed for C. Bates, next the Crown Tavern in West-Smithfield. White letter, with music, [1685-1689]." In the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, Bates's dates *while at this address* are given as 1690 to 1702. This would cancel the inference which Mr. Ebsworth draws that the broadside preceded the earliest date at which Ogilvie could have written his song.

This fact disposes of the assertion that it had not preceded the Burns version of 1793. Though mixed unscrupulously with Hanoverian ditties, of 1746, it is genuinely Jacobite; and may have originally belonged to a time so early as the Battle of the Boyne, 1690. In the *Garland* are some triumphant songs on Drumossie-Moor fight, 'Culloden,' not found elsewhere; but all on the Hanoverian side, with a woodcut of William, Duke of Cumberland, on horseback."

We have seldom, in all our dealings with Mr. Ebsworth, had to challenge the dates he ascribes to documents which have no date, but we cannot follow him here at all. For what does this detailed account of the chap-book really amount to? As far as we can understand it, he found the song of *Mally Stuart* in a *Garland*, which also contained songs about the affair at Culloden, but how does that help to fix the date of the print? The Hanoverian subjects and cut may refer to occurrences which happened in 1746, and may have been originally issued sometime after; but do we not find many "chaps" in which *The Haughs of Crumdel*, or *The Battle of the Boyne*, or *Drumossie Moor* is printed along with songs of a later date? Then how can the presence of the Hanoverian ditties help to give a date to this print of *Mally Stuart?* The statement is of no use for Mr. Ebsworth's purpose, as the publication of the *Garland* may have come after Burns's song was published, for aught we know. When one looks into the composition of *Mally Stuart*, the stanza which it has in common with Burns's song looks very like an inset. The prior verse about "Stirling town," and the bidding Mally adieu *there*, gives "the Irish shore" verse a very isolated and disconnected appear-

ance. Mr. Ebsworth dismisses as "a modern addition" the two verses about her throwing aside her "bauchels" and "cockups," and tramping after him for "seven long years and more," although something of this kind is required to give consistency and intelligibility to the presence of "the Irish shore" verse, as its concluding stanza. In so far, therefore, as a *printed* ancestry is concerned, "the origin and authorship of 'It was a' for our Rightfu' King'" is not "finally settled" by Mr. Ebsworth's find, as the editors of the *Centenary Burns* declare, and the *Museum* text of 1796 is as yet the earliest dated record we have; the poet's MS. is probably three years earlier. That Burns may have wrought over traditional matter is quite possible, but we do not know. The whole of the *Centenary Burns* references to this undated class of publication needs to be taken with caution, and the Motherwell Collection is no exception to other and greater collections in its preponderance of undated items.*

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*As this collection is in private hands and not readily accessible, we append the following summary note of its contents made some time ago, when seeking an approximation towards the probable dates of its various items.

THE MOTHERWELL COLLECTION OF CHAP-BOOKS, 4 Vols.

This small but very important collection contains 126 separate items, 26 of which are dated, but only 4 of these bear dates prior to the time of Burns.

Of *dated* items, 13 are printed by C. Randall, Stirling, .. 1794 to 180–.
3 ,, ,, ,, J. & M. Robertson, Glasgow, 1805 to 1808.
1 Printed at Glasgow, ... 1752.
4 Printed in the years .. .. 1758, 1764, 1788, 1788.
1 Printed at Falkirk, ... 1793.
1 ,, ,, Paisley, ... 1794.
1 ,, ,, Edinburgh, by A. Robertson, .. 1769.
2 Printed by J. Neilson, ... 1811.

These undated chap-books and Garlands are slippery ground on which to base conclusions regarding derivations, and form one of the weakest points in the editorial notes to the *Centenary Burns.* We do not for a moment deny that Burns may have used chap-book versions now and again in his song-writing, but he could hardly use those printed after his time! And whatever his debt may be to chap-literature, the debt of the chap-book printers to him, through the attention he aroused, in all classes, to the worth of our native song-lore, was a thousand times more. From the time of his death up to 1840, songs of all kinds completely put into the shade the great body of religious and other prose items with which the chap-press teemed before his day; indeed, apart from the humorous prose stories, usually attributed to Dougal Graham, *Songs* were the articles most in demand up to the passing of the genuine "chap."

We must, however, now bring these notes and comments to a close. In regard to the main subject of the foregoing pages (the claim of English origins for

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Of *undated* items, some 35 are believed to be from the press of J. & M. Robertson, Glasgow; the remainder, 65, are printed at Paisley, Falkirk, Stirling, Glasgow, and uncertain English presses [1790-1820].

The contents of those printed before Burns's time, are :—

1752.—"*Four Songs:* The Rose in Yarrow, The Bonny Scot, or The Boatman, The New Way of Pitcathly Well, The Bush aboon Traquair."

1758.—"*Six Excellent New Songs:* The Sailor Bold, The Thyme, The Green Leeks, Savory Groves, The Answer, The Buttermilk Boy."

1764.—The Drunkard's Legacy, in three parts.

1769.—"*Six Excellent New Songs:* Duchess of Newcastle's Lament, The Maid's Hope in the Lottery, The Answer, Captain Barber, Hark, hark, my Lovely Molly, Jockey and Jenny."

Scottish ballads and songs) we have necessarily had to deal with a mere fringe, so to speak, of the great body of broadside ballads in the *Bagford*, *Roxburghe*, and other collections contained in the *Ballad Society's Publications*, and only here and there, on this fringe, have we, in the way of samples, challenged the deliverances of Messrs. Chappell and Ebsworth. Nothing that we have said can make against the, in general, great value of these collections, as documents reflecting the customs, habits, and social life of the common people, and the popular attitude of that people towards the great historical movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mr. Ebsworth's notes on these we hold to be a perfect mine of information, very difficult for any student to get at, outside his pages. His volumes can never be superseded as historical and biographical sidelights on these times. Most of the ballads, the work of mere hack-writers, have not a drop of old blood in them, and apart from the airs to which they were sung, are of little or no interest to the popular balladist or folk-lorist. The examples we have dealt with in detail do not nearly exhaust the matters in discussion, but are merely given as illustrations of the main points in our contention. More especially is this the case when we come to the aspects of derivation, dealt with so minutely and microscopically in *The Centenary Burns*. A volume equal to one of their own might be filled, if these were dealt with in detail, but the game, we deem, would not be worth the candle. Enough has been said in these notes to help those interested in such

subjects to follow the lines of unbiased common-sense, and that is all we have aimed at. In conclusion, we would again emphasise the fact that, over the whole field of folk-song and popular ballads, behind all printed texts, lies tradition, which had split up into numerous variations long before any particular one got fixed in type or manuscript. The mere accident of getting fixed gave that variation no special authority over its contemporaries, which still floated down the stream of tradition. This assumed authority of printed or manuscript texts, over all subsequent traditional texts, lies at the bottom of the critical structure of Messrs. Chappell, Ebsworth, Furnivall, and their followers, and has become with them a kind of fetish,—a superstition, which renders much of their reasonings inept and fallacious. We have endeavoured, in our notes, to meet these critics, for the most part, on their own ground, and to show, on their own assumptions, that their arguments are weak and inconclusive; but when anyone recognises to its full extent, how tradition lies behind all recorded popular music and song, and persistently survives in many varieties down the ages, special claims for national *origins* become pretty much non-significant, or dwindle into the mere localizing tendency ever present in tradition.

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